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ABSTRACT

This compilation of four issues of the Japan Association of Language Teachers Journal (JALT) covers the years 1982-1984. The four issues contain a total of 21 articles, as follows: "Communicative Needs in Foreign Language Learning" (Jack C. Richards); "Language Proficiency Interview Testing" (David J. Keitges); "Speculations into the Distributive Function of Consonants and Vowels in English and Japanese" (Mamoru Kinjo); "Impromptu Speaking as a Tool To Improve Non-native Speakers' Fluency in English" (Don Henderson); "Improving Reading Speed in Readers of English as a Second Language" (Wesley Richard); "The Effects of Direct and Heuristic Correction on First Year Level College Composition" (Steven Ross). "Rhetorical Patterns Extant in the English Compositions of Japanese Students" (Machiko Achiba, Yasuaki Kuromiya); "The Enigma of Reading Comprehension" (Yeghia Aslanian); "Time and Space With Community Language Learning" (Paul G. La Foreg); "Macro-Analysis: A Technique for Helping Japanese Students of English To Cope with the Culture Barrier" (Kathryn T. Mizuno); "Sentence Combining and the Teaching of Writing in the ESL/FL Classroom: Theory, Research, and Practice" (Ian Shortreed, Curtis Hart Kelly); "Typical Errors in English Made by Japanese ESL Students" (William H. Bryant); "The Nelson-Denny Reading Test: Fair Measure for Non-native Speakers" (Mary Heise); "A Comparative Analysis of the Invitational Speeches at Baden-Baden by Nagoya and Seoul for the 1988 International Olympics: A Case Study in International Discourse" (Teruyuki Kume); "Measuring Writing Proficiency of College ESL Students" (Ho-Peng Lim); "Sign Language in ESOL" (Masayo Yamamoto); "Training ESOL Teachers: The Need for Needs Assessment" (Jack Richards, Nobuyuki Hino); "The Normative Bases of Needs Assessment in Applied Linguistics" (Richard Berwick); "ESL Theory and the Fries Legacy" (Joan Morley, Betty Wallace Robinett, Larry Selinker, Devon Woods); and "Understanding Refugee Second Language Learning" (Howard H. Kleinmann). (MSE)

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THE JOURNAL OF THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

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BACKGROUND

Since the JALT Journal's inception in late 1978 and first edition in the fall of 1979 it has served as a forum for the varied theoretical and practical needs and interests of language teachers, researchers and learners in Japan and abroad. It is hoped that the Journal will make an increasingly significant contribution to the many disciplines concerned with language learning by addressing itself to the problems and professional concerns of the JALT members and other readers of the Journal in an instrumental way.

EDITORIAL POLICY

The Journal Board invites the submission of articles which demonstrate pragmatic, speculative, progressive and/or controversial approaches to language teaching and learning. Areas of particular emphasis include:

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An abstract of no more than 200 words and a biographical sketch of less than 50 words should accompany the three copies of the manuscript. Please note that manuscripts cannot be returned.

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JALT also publishes a monthly Newsletter which contains organizational news, conference and chapter announcements and reports, articles on classroom techniques, book reviews and items of related interest. Contributions to or questions concerning the Newsletter should be directed to Pam and Chip Harman, Co-Editors, Heights Motoyagoto No. 505, Motoyagoto 1-241, Tenpaku-ku, Nagoya 468.

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COMMUNICATIVE NEEDS IN FOREIGN LANAUAGE LEARNING*

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The theme of language and the learner's communicative needs is a familiar one in language teaching. In recent years applied linguistics has been revitalized by attempts to describe how language reflects its communicative uses, and by demonstrations of how syllabus design and methodology can respond to the need for communicative uses of language in classrooms and teaching materials. This paper attempts to contribute to our general understanding of how language use reflects underlying communicative needs by considering some central aspects of communication. Five assumptions about the nature of verbal communication will be discussed; that communication is proposition based, conventional, appropriate, interactional and structured. These will be discussed in relation to the communicative needs of second or foreign language learners.

I COMMUNICATION IS PROPOSITION-BASED

Let us begin by examining basic survival language needs; those, for example, of a learner who has an active vocabulary of perhaps two hundred words, a minimal knowledge of the syntax of English, but who is in a situation where English is required for simple basic communicative purposes. The most immediate need of the speaker is to be able to refer to a core of basic "referents" or things in the real world, that is to be able to name things, stages, events, and attributes using the words together to make predictions. This is what I mean by the term *proposition.* A proposition is the linking together of words to form predications about things, people and events. For example the words *book* and *red* constitute a proposition when we understand the meaning of *The book is red.*

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* A plenary address given at the Japan Association of Language Teachers' Convention, Tokyo, November 21, 1981.

Propositions are the building blocks of communication, and the first task in learning to communicate in a language is to learn how to create propositions. Language is comprehensible to the degree that hearers are able to reconstruct propositions from a speaker's utterances. When the child says "hungry" to its mother, the mother understands "I am hungry"; from "no hungry" the mother understands the child's message as being "I don't want to eat." (Wells, 1981) From these examples we see that sentences do not have to be complete or grammatical for their propositional meaning to be understood. We often make good sense of a speaker who uses very broken syntax, just as we can understand a message written in telegraphese; *no money send draft.*

Sentences may contain more than one proposition. *The girl picked the red flower* contains the propositions *the girl picked the flower, the flower is red.* Sentences may contain the same proposition but differ in what they say about it. The following sentences contain the proposition *John married Mary* but differ in what they say about it;

> When did John marry Mary?
> Why did John and Mary get married?
> Mary and John have been married for ages.

"Survival-level" communication in a foreign language however consists of more than the construction of propositions. Speakers use propositions in utterances in a variety of ways. They may wish to ask a question about a proposition, affirm a proposition, deny or negate a proposition, or express an attitude towards a proposition. Now while the adult native speaker of English can use the resources of adult syntax to code propositions in the appropriate grammatical form, the beginning foreign language learner finds that the demands of communication often exceed his or her knowledge of the grammar of English. The learner's immediate priority is to construct a way of performing such operations as stating, affirming, denying, or questioning propositions, in the most economical way, using a partial knowledge of the vocabulary and syntax of the target language. Here the learner has similar needs to the child learning its mother tongue. Child language is characterized by its ability to express complex propositional meanings within the limits of a restricted grammatical system. Mother talk—that variety of speech which mothers use when talking to young children—is coded to make propositions more readily identifiable (Goody, 1978). Mothers' questions to children, for example, contain far more Yes–No questions than Wh questions, because propositions are more readily identifiable with Yes–No questions.

How do foreign language learners communicate propositional meanings when they lack the fully elaborated grammatical and discourse system of the target language? To answer this question, let us consider how a learner might try to express the meanings contained in the following sentences;

> John ought to have come on time.
> I regret I wasn't able to get to your class on time.
> I can't afford to buy that dress.

One strategy learners adopt in communicating complex meanings is to "bring propositions to the surface" by expressing propositions directly rather than indirectly and by expressing lexically, aspects of meaning that are coded in the auxiliary system, in complex clauses, and by grammatical devices in the target language (Richards, 1981; Dittmar, 1981). The first sentence for example, contains the proposition *John came late* together with the speaker's attitude towards the proposition. The meaning is roughly *Speaker dissapprove that John came late*. This could be communicated by saying;

> Why John late? (said with non-approving intonation), or
> John late. that bad.

The second sentence contains the proposition *I am late* together with the speaker's expression of regret. It might be communicated by saying;

> I late, So sorry.

I can't afford to buy that dress contains the propositions;

> *The dress is expensive. I don't have enough money to buy the dress.*

It could be restated;

> The dress expensive. Cannot buy.
> Can't buy the dress. No money.

This type of "restructuring" is seen in the following examples in which utterances in simplifiedlearner syntax are compared with standard adult grammar.

L2 utterances	*Equivalent in standard adult syntax*
1. Mary lazy. No work hard.	1. Mary can work hard if she wants to.
2. Tomorrow I give money.	2. You will have your money tomorrow, I promise you.
3. You no money. I lend you.	3. I will lend you some money if you need any.
4. This way. See the map.	4. According to the map, this ought to be the way.
5. One day I go to England.	5. I would like to go to England some day.

Teachers too often resort to this type of language in communicating with speakers of limited language proficiency. The following examples were produced by teachers who are native speakers of English.

1. A teacher is explaining the meaning of *wash*. "In your house you . . . a tub . . . you (gestures) wash."
2. Here is a teacher explaing how to take telephone mes-

sages. "I want to speak other person. He not here. What good thing for say now?"

3. A teacher explaining an interview procedure produced: "Not other student listen. I no want. Necessary you speak. Maybe I say what is your name. The writing not important."
4. And here is a teacher reminding her students to bring their books to class. "The book . . . we have . . . (hold up book) . . . book is necessary for class. Right . . . necessary for school. You have book."

The examples above illustrate a linguistic system which can be used for communicating basic propositional meanings. Such a system is known as *child language* when it is produced by infants learning their mother tongue, *interlanguage* when it is produced by foreign language learners, *teacher talk* when it is used by teachers, and *foreigner talk* when it is produced by native speakers communicating with foreigners. The linguistic system of syntactic, lexical, and semantic organization behind this type of communication is one which uses a basic "notional–functional" core of vocabulary items, a syntax which depends on simple word order rules (such as the formation of negation by placing the negative word in front of the proposition) and in which the communication of meaning is not dependent on grammatical systems of tense or aspect, auxiliaries, function words or plural morphemes, at the initial stages of communication.

The ability to use such a communicative system is crucial in the first stages of foreign language learning. We should consequently be tolerant of grammatical "errors" from learners who are at this stage of the learning process. Learners should not attempt active communication too soon, however. Before the learner is ready to begin speaking a foreign language, he or she should have a vocabulary of at least 200 words and a feel for the basic word order rules of the target language. The learner needs to develop a feel for the system of basic word order (in English, subject predicate sentence order, adverb and adjectival positions, negation, question formation, etc.). When speaking is taught, the initial goal should be the production of comprehensible utterances through expressing basic propositional meanings.

II COMMUNICATION IS CONVENTIONAL

While much of the learner's efforts in speaking a foreign language center on developing the vocabulary and syntax needed to express propositional meanings, it is native speaker syntax and usage that is ultimately the learner's goal. As language acquisition proceeds, the learner revises his or her ideas about how propositions are expressed in English. The learner's syntax complexifies as knowledge of negation, the auxiliary system, questions, words order, embedding, conjoining, etc. expand. In short, the learner begins to develop grammatical competence.

Both linguists and applied linguists in recent years have emphasized the creative properties of human grammatical systems. Language users were said to possess as part of their grammatical competence, the ability to produce an infinite number of sentences, most of which are novel utterances. The learner's task was said to be the internalization of the rules needed to generate any and all of the possible grammatical sentences of English. The primary focus of language teaching was to create opportunities for these grammatical abilities to develop in language learners.

The fact is, however, that only a fraction of the sentences which could be generated by our grammatical competence are actually ever used in communication. Communication largely consists of the use of sentences in conventional ways. There are strict constraints imposed on the creative-constructive capacities of speakers, and these serve to limit how speakers are entitled to code propositional meanings. In telling the time for example, we can say, *It's two forty*, or *it's twenty to three*, but not *it's three minus twenty, it's ten after two thirty*, or *it's eight fives after 20.* If I want you to post a letter for me I may say, *Please post this letter for me*, or *Would you mind posting this letter for me*, but I am unlikely to say, *I request you to post this letter*, or *It is my desire that this letter be posted by you.* Although these sentences have been constructed according to the rules of English grammar, they are not conventional ways of using English. Though they are grammatically correct "sentences" they have no status as "utterances" within discourse, since they would never be used by native speakers of English.

This fact considerably complicates the task of foreign language learning. Once learners have progressed to the stage where they are beginning to generate novel utterances, they find that a considerable percentage of their utterances fail to conform to patterns of conventional usage, although they are undoubtedly English sentences. Constraints which require speakers to use only those utterances which are conventional affect both the lexical and grammatical structure of discourse. Constraints on lexical usage manifest themselves in idiosyncracies and irregularities of usage which effect particularly verb, noun, preposition, and article usage, and are usually rationalized as "exceptions" or collocational restrictions in teachers' explanations.

Thus teachers must explain that *a pair of trousers*, refers to one item, but *a pair of shirts* to two, that we can speak of *a toothache* or *a headache* but not *a fingerache*; that someone may be *in church*, but not *in library*. Conventionalized language is seen in many other dimensions of discourse. For example:

(a) *Conversational openers. How are you?* may be used to open a conversation in English, but not *Are you well?* or *Are you in good health?*

(b) *Routine formulae.* Some conventional forms are expressions whose use is limited to particular settings, such as *Check please* said when a bill is requested in a restaurant.

(c) *Ceremonial formulae.* These are conventional phrases used in ritualized interactions, such as *after you*, said as a way of asking someone to go before you when entering a room, and *how nice to see you*, said on encountering a friend after an absence of some time (Yorio, 1980).

(d) *Memorized clauses* (Pawley and Syder, in press). The concept of conventionalized language usage may be applied to a broader class of utterances. These are clauses

> which do not appear to be uniquely generated, or created anew each time they are required in discourse, but which are produced and stored as complete units. Pawley and Syder cite the following examples:
>
> Did you have a good trip?
> Is everything ok?
> Pardon me?
> Please sit down.
> Call me later.
> I see what you mean.

They argue that speakers of a language regularly use thousands of utterances like these. Unlike "novel" utterances, (those which speakers put together from individual lexical items), these are pre-programmed and run off almost automatically in speech production. Researchers in second language acquisition have likewise observed that language learners often use conventional formulae and memorized clauses as crutches which make communication easier. There is often a high frequency of such forms in their speech in the early stages of conversational competence (Schmidt, 1981).

The observation that language is conventional has important implications for language teaching. Firstly, it suggests that there is reason to be skeptical of the suggestion that language cannot be taught, but only "acquired." Many of the conventionalized aspects of language usage are amenable to teaching through various pedagogic formats. Secondly, applied linguistic effort is needed to gather fuller data on such forms, through discourse analysis, and frequency counts, with a view to obtaining information of use to teachers, textbook writers and syllabus designers.

III COMMUNICATION IS APPROPRIATE

Mastery of a foreign language requires more than the use of utterances which express propositional meanings and are conventional forms of expression. The form of utterances must also take into account the relationship between speaker and hearer and the constraints imposed by the setting and circumstances in which the act of communication is taking place. *What's your name?* is a conventional utterance for example, but it is not an appropriate way of asking the identity of a telephone caller, for which purpose *May I know who is calling?* is considered a more appropriate way of requesting.

Communicative competence includes knowledge of different types of communicative strategies or communicative styles according to the situation, the task, and the roles of the participants. For example if a speaker wanted to get a match from another person in order to light a cigarette, he or she might make use of one of the following utterances, according to the speaker's judgment of its appropriateness:

1. Make a statement about his need: "I need a match."
2. Use an imperative: "Give me a match."
3. Use an embedded imperative: "Could you give me a match?"
4. Use a permission directive: "May I have a match?"
5. Use a question directive: "Do you have a match?"
6. Make a hint: "The matches are all gone I see." (Ervin-Tripp, 1976)

Young children learning their mother tongue soon become skilled at using communicative strategies which they judge to be appropriate to different types of situations. Thus a child who wants something done for her may bargain, beg, name call or threaten violence in talking to other children, reason, beg, or make promises in requesting to parents, or repeat the request several times or beg in talking to grandparents.

The choice of an appropriate strategy for performing a communicative task or speech act is dependent on such factors as the age, sex, familiarity and role of speaker and hearer, which will determine whether a speaker adopts conversational strategies which mark *affiliation*, or *dominance*. In the former case, "got a match" may be considered an appropriate way of requesting a match, and in the latter, "I wonder if I could bother you for a match." (Brown and Levinson, 1978) Foreign language learners typically have less choice available to them for performing speech acts appropriately. They may use what they think of as a polite or formal style, for all situations, in which case they may be judged as being over-formal, or they may create novel ways of coding particular speech acts, such as the use of *please + imperative* as a way of performing requests, regardless of who the speaker is talking to: For example "Please, you carry this suitcase" said by a non-native speaker to a friend, where "How about carrying this suitcase for me" would be a more appropriate form, or "Please bring me more coffee," said to a waitress, where a more appropriate form would be "Could I have another cup of coffee, please?" (Schmidt, 1981)

Canadian researchers investigated the problem non-native speakers have when they are put in a situation where they feel they lack the means of speaking appropriately, such as when a person who has been taught to use a formal type of French, needs a style of speaking suitable for communication in informal situations. It was hypothesized that speakers would show considerable discomfort in using a casual style of speech and that they would handle this discomfort by downgrading the personality of the interlocutor and by judging that the interlocutor had formed a bad impression of them. It was argued that subjects would have some awareness that they were not speaking in a suitably friendly and casual manner, and would conclude that they really did not like the person they were speaking to anyway. The results of the study supported this prediction. "These findings have certain implications for second language learners who have only mastered basic vocabulary and syntax in their new language but have not developed skills in the domain of linguistic variability. Such people may find social interaction with native-speakers in their new language to be a relatively negative experinece and may become discouraged from pursuing language practice with native speakers" (Segalowitz and Gatbonton, 1977, 86). Language learning texts have only recently begun to focus on the strategies learners need to use to code various types of speech acts appropriately. The emphasis is not simply on teaching functions and their exponents, but on coding functions or speech acts appropriately in different types of communicative situations. Textbooks thus need to give practice in using particular speech acts with interlocutors of different ages, rank and social status and practice in varying the form of speech acts according to these social variables.

IV COMMUNICATION IS INTERACTIONAL

The use of utterances which are appropriate manifestations of speaker-hearer roles reflects the fact that conversation is often just as much a form of social encounter as it is a way of communicating meanings or ideas. This may be described as the interactional function of conversation. It is the use of language to keep the channels of communication open between conversationists and to establish a suitable atmosphere of rapport. Goffman has argued that "in any action, each actor provides a field of action for the other actors, and the reciprocity thus established allows the participants to exercise their interpersonal skills in formulating the situation, presenting and enacting a self or identity, and using strategies to accomplish other interactional ends" (Cited by Watson, 1974, p. 58). We see the evidence of this at many levels within conversation. In the initial stages of conversation with a stranger for example, conversationists introduce uncontroversial topics into the conversation, such as small talk about the weather, the transport system, etc. These topics are carefully chosen so that there is a strong likelihood of mutual agreement between speaker and hearer. "The raising of safe topics allows the speaker the right to stress his agreement with the hearer, and therefore to satisfy the hearer's desire to be right or to be corroborated in his opinions . . . . The weather is a safe topic for virtually everyone, as is the beauty of gardens, the incompetence of bureaucracies, etc." (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p. 117) These are examples of what has been called "phatic communion." "Much of what passes for communication is rather the equivalent of a handclasp, or an embrace; it's purpose is sociability" (Bolinger, 1975, p. 524).

The mechanisms of phatic communion include (a) the speaker's repertoire of verbal and visual gestures which signal interest in what our conversational partner is saying, such as the use of *mmm, uh uh, yeah, really*, etc., (b) the speaker's stock of "canned topics" and formulaic utterances which are produced at relevant points in discourse, such as the small talk which is required to make brief encounters with acquaintances comfortable and positive, (c) knowledge of when to talk and when not to talk, that is, appropriate use of turn-taking conventions.

Adequate management of these dimensions of conversation is essential to create a sense of naturalness in conversational encounters. Non-native speakers who lack the ability to use small talk and to manipulate the interactional aspects of communication may find many encounters awkward and may avoid talk where talk is appropriate. A foreign couple with a good command of English but lacking the ability to provide an ongoing output of conversational small talk were judged as cold, stand-offish and reserved by their American relatives (personal observation).

Communication as interaction is thus directed largely to the face needs of speaker and hearer, which require that we feel valued and approved of. If our conversational teaching materials emphasize primarily transactional skills, such as how to ask directions, how to order a meal, etc., learners may not have the chance to acquire the interactional skills which are also an important component of communicative competence.

V COMMUNICATION IS STRUCTURED

The last aspect of communication I wish to consider is the ongoing organization of discourse. This can be considered from two perspectives, a "macro" perspective which looks at differences in rhetorical organization which reflect different discourse "genres" or tasks, and a "micro" perspective which considers how speech reflects some of the processes by which discourse is constructed out of individual utterances.

A. *Task structure.*

Communication consists of different genres of discourse, such as conversations, discussions, debates, descriptions, narratives, and instructions. These different rhetorical tasks require the speaker to organize utterances in ways which are appropriate to that task. When we tell a story, for example, we follow certain conventions as to how stories proceed and develop. Stories consist of a setting, followed by episodes. The setting consists of states in which time, place, and characters are identified. Episodes consist of chains of events and conclude with reactions to events. Most stories can be described as having a structure of this type and it is this structure which gives coherence to stories or narratives. Just as a sentence is grammatical to the extent that it follows the norms of English word order and structure, so a story is coherent to the extent that it follows the norms of semantic organization which are used in English.

Other types of rhetorical acts derive coherence from norms of structural organization. When we describe something, for example, coherence in our description is determined by how appropriately we deal with such elements as the level of the description, the content, the order in which items are described, and the relations between items mentioned in the description (Clark and Clark, 1977). In describing a landscape, for example, the writer must decide on the appropriate level of the description, and decide whether to focus on the general impressions of the scene or focus on every detail, as for example in a police report. The writer must also make decisions concerning content, which will determine which elements of the scene to include or exclude. Then the elements must be arranged in an appropriate order and the relations between the things mentioned must be decided. Some objects may be highlighted in the description for example, and other items related to them. The result will be a description that is coherent, that is, which is organized according to appropriate norms for that type of discourse. Similar decisions must be made when we describe people, rooms, states or events. If we adopt solutions that are conventional, we create rhetorical acts which are coherent.

Other types of rhetorical acts develop in ways which are also organized and structured. Conversations, for example, begin with greetings and progress through various ordered moves in which speaker and hearer roles are ascertained, topics introduced, rights to talk assumed, new topics introduced, and at an appropriate time, the conversation terminated in a suitable manner. The development of communicative competence in a foreign language is crucially dependent on the speaker's ability to create discourse that is coherent. Schmidt (1981), in his study of the development of communicative competence in a Japanese adult, studied how the subject developed in his ability to perform coherent narratives and descriptions. At an early stage in his language development, the subject's attempts to narrate events suffered through the inclusion of excessive details presented in a random order, which made comprehension difficult.

B. *Process structure*

When we talk, much of our verbal output is made up of words and phrases which indicate how what we are going to say relates to what has been said. For example, our reaction to an idea or opinion may be to expand it, to add something to it, to disagree with it, to substantiate it, to give a reason for it or to explain it. The following are examples of phrases or lexical items which may serve these or related functions:

> When it comes to that, and another thing, all the same, consequently, in my case, all the same, to give you an idea, yes but, well maybe, actually, anyway, as a matter of fact, to begin with.

These have been termed conversational gambits (Keller, 1981), and are signal directions and relations within discourse. Evidence suggests that these contribute significantly to the effect of fluency in conversation. Course materials are now available which focus just on these aspects of conversational competence. They can be used inappropriately however, if used too often or in the wrong places, as in the following example:

> To my mind I'll have another cup of coffee.

CONCLUSIONS

Theories of how we teach a foreign language reflect our view of what the nature of language is. While it is no innovation to define language as a system of communication, the way the dynamics of the communicative process influence the form of verbal communication is often less fully appreciated. ESL materials have too often focused only on the finished *products* of communication, rather than on the *processes* by which people communicate. A deeper understanding of the effects of communicative needs on non-native speaker discourse should make us more understanding of our students' difficulties in using English, and more tolerant of their partial successes.

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LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY INTERVIEW TESTING: AN OVERVIEW

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores and discusses the usefulness and limitations of language proficiency interview testing. The prominent testing model is described and critiqued. Limitations of this model and this type of testing are discussed and the resultant modifications are surveyed. A process for the development of interview tests which are valid, reliable and practical is proposed and explained, and numerous practical suggestions concerning the designing, administering and rating of such interview tests are made.

I INTRODUCTION

"Language as communication" is a familiar theme found in journal articles, textbook prefaces, and in discussions among teachers and students of English in Japan today. By relating the two, writers and discussants are typically trying to redefine what language teaching — and language learning — must be concerned with — the acquisition of communicative competence in social settings. Learning another language as a communicative tool is hastened by a variety of factors, including academic use, commercial and technological uses in international trade, and touristic and other needs. Learning foreign languages in Japan has also become related to notions of "internationalism" and "intercultural communication." Language learning, then, has widened in scope and become a more practical endeavor than ever before.

Viewing language learning in such practical terms has focused critical attention on language education and its aspects: needs assessment, program design, methodology, evaluation. Increasingly, questions about language learning phrased by students, teachers, and others, relate to the authenticity and practicality of the language taught and the efficiency of the methods employed. Students want to know how they can learn "real" English, and teachers are attempting to bring "the real English-speaking world" into the classroom itself. Research has become preoccupied with the tasks of defining and describing needs, mounting courses, and evaluating progress.

Further, viewing language as a communicative tool requires increased sophistication in this evaluation. Assessing only a student's ability to manipulate discrete, separate elements of language on paper gives the teacher and administrator information of dubious value. A practical ability in speaking a second/foreign language demands evaluative procedures that can certify progress, diagnose weakness, and predict performance. Proficiency testing, therefore, is an essential part of any course or program which claims to teach language for use.

This paper will explore and discuss the usefulness and limitations of language proficiency interview testing, or, more specifically, the direct testing of speaking proficiency in the interview setting. Readers in mind are those of the English language teaching community, both native and non-native speakers, who teach language for communicative use. Also included are those who assess speaking proficiency on a more formal basis in company-wide, governmental and other programs in which a higher proficiency rating can lead to promotion, an overseas post, a certificate for employment and other career-related opportunities. After definitions of terms and anecdotes of recent experience, a model of language proficiency interviewing will be described and critiqued in Section II. Its limitations will be discussed in Section III and modifications of the model will be surveyed. Section IV will provide guidelines and suggestions for designing, administering, rating, and improving language proficiency interview tests.

Clark (1979, p. 36) distinguishes between direct, semi-direct, and indirect measures of speaking ability. Direct measures include all those procedures in which the "examinee is asked to engage in a face-to-face communicative exchange with one or more human interlocutors." Indirect measures require no active speech production by the examinee but depend on paper-and-pencil varieties of cloze tests and other such "productive" techniques. Semi-direct measures of speaking ability elicit active speech but by means of tape recordings, printed test booklets and other "nonhuman" elicitation procedures. Only direct measures involve actual oral exchanges and contain what Carroll (1980, p. 54) calls oral interaction: "constructive interplay with unpredictable stimuli."

Further, for our purposes, the evaluation of an individual's language proficiency must be distinguished from that same individual's language achievement. Proficiency refers to overall or global competence in a language, regardless of how that competence was acquired. Achievement evaluation, on the other hand, measures an individual's acquisition of specific linguistic features of the language that have been presented in, for example, a particular language course. (Clark 179, p. 39) Therefore, we can define such language proficiency interviews as described above as evaluative sessions in which one or more persons perform communicative tasks elicited or assigned by one or more examiners who subsequently observe and rate the resultant speaking performance to determine speaking proficiency.

Anecdotal comments relayed from examining partner to partner and from colleague to colleague frequently pose rather significant questions about the usefulness and limitations of language proficiency interview testing. Some examiners complain that judging speaking proficiency is so subjective that the results of such tests are all too suspect; others reject such interview testing on the grounds that the "real" elements of language (grammar, vocabulary, etc.) cannot be fairly tested in this manner. A second category of difficulty related to interview procedure. Examiners sometimes aren't sure how they are to elicit speech samples and exactly what they are to evaluate: the whole, the parts, the overall impression, what. And examiners working together who do not discuss criteria of evaluation beforehand often rate the proficiency of the same individual in very different ways. And even when checklist scales are used during interviews, some examiners question if "dismembering the discourse" is an appropriate way to judge the communicative proficiency of the interviewee. These concerns and numerous variations are frequently expressed. How, then, are we to regard the element of subjectivity in language proficiency interview testing? And what procedures can aid us in eliciting appropriate speech samples and evaluating them efficiently? These and other questions will be discussed in Sections II, III and IV below.

II A TESTING MODEL: DESCRIPTION AND CRITIQUE

In the minds of many, the direct testing of speaking proficiency by interview is nearly synonymous with the procedure developed by the U.S. Foreign Service Institute (FSI). Most teachers and testers have at least a passing familiarity with this procedure as it has been widely though incompletely described in major teaching methods and testing texts (Valette 1977, p. 157-51; Rivers 1981, p. 368, 497-99). As much of the research and many of the modifications discussed in the literature are related to this particular testing model, perhaps it is wise to explore it briefly to distinguish its specific purpose, target population, and procedures.

Wilds (1975, p. 29-44) has provided the most comprehensive description of the FSI interview test. The procedure, first adopted in 1956 and somewhat revised since then, was devised to assess the foreign language speaking abilities of U.S. Government personnel, especially diplomatic, military and aid officials, and, later, Peace Corps volunteers. The evaluation takes place in an interview conducted by two examiners for a sole interviewee. The trained examiners engage the interviewee in a conversation to determine his speaking proficiency level as defined by the functionally-based FSI Proficiency Ratings (Appendix A). In FSI usage, the team of examiners consists of a senior member, a native-speaking certified language examiner or a linguist thoroughly familiar with the target language, and a native-speaking junior member who elicits the samples of speech to be evaluated. The senior member, though an interested participant, usually refrains from actual elicitation. The speech samples of the interviewee are judged to range from elementary proficiency through limited working proficiency, minimum professional proficiency, and full professional proficiency, to native or bilingual proficiency. These five proficiency levels, which are further divided with plus (+) notations to indicate half-level proficiencies, were devised in response to the specific needs of the testing population.

The taped interview begins with simple social formulae which, if handled badly, leads the examiner to put a ceiling on the difficulty of subsequent questions (and thus the rating level) of the interviewee. If the initial queries are dealt with satisfactorily, the examiner will go on to more difficult topics of an autobiographical or professional nature. Informal oral interpretation between examiners is sometimes assigned to elicit certain desired grammatical or lexical items unused by the interviewee. The interview ranges from fifteen to less than thirty minutes in length. Final rating occurs either during the interview or directly after its conclusion. The examiners may (but are not required to) use a "Checklist of Performance Factors" (accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency, comprehension) and a weighted conversion table (Appendix B) to reach their conclusions. The examiners may also report specific weaknesses to the interviewee at the interview's end or fill in a "Factors in Speaking Ability" chart designed for the same purpose (Clark 1979, p. 40).

In terms of validity, reliability and practicality, the three imperatives of test design and administration, the FSI oral interview appears to be an excellent measure of the speaking proficiency of the target population. Consisting of an interview in which oral interaction occurs, it holds both *face* and reasonable *content* validity as it "measures what it is supposed to measure"—the ability of the person to speak the language (Clark 1979, p. 37). It has also demonstrated high statistical reliability (Oller 1979, p. 392; Hendricks, et al. 1980, p. 78). The interview is also practical, at least for the FSI, as it can be administered, rated and interpreted with ease (Wilds 1975, p. 29-30).

There are a number of practical factors, however, which underlie the validity and reliability of this procedure. Oller (1979, p. 326) states that interview validity (and hence reliability) depends on three factors: (1) how the speech acts are elicited; (2) what the rating scale(s) are referenced against (the criteria chosen for deciding proficiency); and (3) who is a qualified rater. It is in these practical aspects, the details of the procedure, that the reasons for its success can best be viewed.

The *Manual for Peace Corps Language Testers* (1970, p. 11) defines the purpose of the language proficiency interview in this way: "It is *not* simply a friendly conversation on whatever topics come to mind . . . It is rather a specialized procedure which efficiently uses the relatively brief testing period to explore many different aspects of the student's language competence in order to place him into one of the categories described." This definition emphasizes the importance of the elicitation of speech samples, the grading of them in reference to the predetermined proficiency criteria and ratings, and, further, implies the necessary training of the human administrators who must elicit and rate skillfully and reliably. These procedural requirements are fulfilled in various ways at the FSI. Wilds (1975, p. 34) reports that, for languages that are tested often (more than 60 languages are tested), there are libraries of tapes of previous tests of all levels for the training rater to use. In addition, there is a "substantial amount of written material aimed at clarifying standards and suggesting appropriate techniques." A much experienced staff also helps guide others in the achievement and maintenance of testing competence. But, it may be asked, does this training and the accumulated experience of the examiners, though impressive, fully explain the success of the FSI interview? What, if anything, underlies these aspects of interview test success?

The element of subjectivity, that of the examiner's personal judgement, present in judging oral performances has long been pinpointed by some as a major disadvantage, and one that inhibits its more extensive use. Without doubt, the examiner's personal judgement is present in the eliciting and rating of speech samples. It is obvious that the examiner must inject himself into the test by deciding which questions to ask and how to phrase them, and how the multitude of possible responses are to be rated in accordance with the still loosely-defined criteria. But how shall this subjectivity be regarded? As a disadvantage, even an obstacle? Or as a benign or even beneficial component of the process?

Much has been done at the FSI to limit the influence of subjective judgement on testing: the Proficiency Ratings, based on functional use, have been devised; examiners have learned techniques of elicitation that furnish speech samples considered valid and appropriate for rating; raters are carefully trained to differentiate good, fair, and poor performances reliably according to defined criteria. Subjectivity, then, or at least its more negative influences, has been limited. Rivers (1981, p. 69) observes that oral evaluation is essentially subjective but notes that raters can be trained—as they are at the FSI—to reach basically comparable results. Oller (1979, p. 328) defines oral evaluation as judging "subjectively according to loosely stated criteria." Further, Oller (p. 48) notes that objective procedures in evaluating oral performance are not necessarily more reliable than subjective ones. "Certain aspects of language performances may simply lend themselves more to subjective judgement than they do to quantification by formula." Clark (1979, p. 41) agrees by noting studies that demonstrate that subjective rating of oral performances should not be regarded as "intrinsically unreliable." In addition, it may be unreasonable and unwise to ask that rating of oral performances be accomplished in a more "objective" manner. For, considering the paucity of our present knowledge and understanding of oral interaction, how and in what form would objective rating take place? In fact, instead of asking if the element of subjectivity is appropriate or not in proficiency rating, it may be more reasonable and useful to ask to what extent subjectivity, granted an informed varient, is necessary to the process. For this reason, it may be concluded that the FSI interview test is successful not only because of its established criteria and rating system and the careful training of its examiners, but also precisely because of the controlled or informed subjectivity exercised by those examiners during the interview process.

III LIMITATIONS AND MODIFICATIONS

Up to this point, the design, procedure and rating system of the FSI interview test has been briefly reviewed. Its usefulness in assessing speaking proficiency has been outlined. Also, the reasons for its success have been explored. From now, attention will be shifted to the limitations of language proficiency interviewing, and the FSI model in particular. Also, modifications of the model will be surveyed to demonstrate how teachers and researchers have dealt with these recognized limits of use.

Language proficiency interviewing leaves much to be desired. The described FSI procedure, although efficient with the specific group for which it was designed, has a number of limitations in its general applicability. Chief among these is its absolute scaling of performances. Absolute scaling requires reliable, consistent judgements by different examiners over time. Individuals tested today must have their performances rated under the same conditions as those rated previously, and those who will be rated in the future. The essence of absolute scaling, then, is consistency. Relative or normative scaling, on the other hand, seeks only to differentiate among members of a particular group at a particular time. There is no specific, absolute need for consistency over time. Relative scaling, in the classroom and at the employment agency, is the normal method, while absolute scaling is only for rare, special situations. The difficulty of the matter becomes apparent when one considers the training of the examiners charged with the rating responsibility. The need to maintain reliability over time further burdens, and strictly formalizes, the training of FSI examiners. Other, relative raters need not be so burdened. In addition, while the increased amount of this examiner-training and lengthy interview sessions may not be prohibitive for the FSI and other select groups, these requirements are burdensome for other testers. And, though the basic 5-level Proficiency Ratings discriminate abilities well enough for the FSI, these same ratings do not distinguish abilities well enough for secondary school and college learners with more limited proficiency (Reschke 1978, p. 80-1). Finally, the inclusion of listening comprehension as a checklist performance factor by the FSI is seen by many as undesirable as examiners, no matter how skillful, are exposed to so little evidence of comprehension that it is unlikely a fair and complete assessment of this important skill can be made in an interview alone. Therefore, although the FSI model is suitable for its designed purpose, it cannot be freely transferred to dissimilar testing situations. The implicit (and sometimes explicit) recommendations for its unmodified use by some writers need to be softened and qualified.

Other sorts of limitations of the FSI model have been indicated by "integrative" and "pragmatic" testers. This approach, backed by Carroll (1980), Cohen (1980), and Oller (1979), among others, differs most significantly from the FSI model in the scoring and rating of speech samples. Oller (p. 305) believes that scoring techniques used in interviews should relate not only to morphology and syntax as now, but also to the overall meanings contained in utterances. Thus, he calls for a wider array of criteria for judging speech beyond the traditional FSI set (accent, grammar, vocabulary, etc.). Other researchers (Callaway 1980, p. 111; Hendricks et al. 1980, p. 85; Mullen 1980, p. 101) have statistically examined the present FSI scoring techniques and found them wanting. This research suggests that using integrated or unitary scaling for scoring interviews, rather than the FSI multiple checklist scales, is preferable because there is not adequate evidence to prove that the FSI checklist scales actually measure different things. Mullen, in particular, noted that an overall scale of proficiency appeared to represent a composite of the four other scales in her research and was, statistically, more reliable—thus preferable. Qualified findings on unitary/multiple scaling has been reported by Bachman and Palmer (1981, p. 67). Callaway, in researching raters, found that the overall comprehensibility of speech behavior is what motivates examiner's evaluations of proficiency, thus further supporting arguments for unitary scaling in interview scoring techniques. In addition, these "pragmatic" critics also encourage the use of other criteria (naturalness, clarity, suitability) in the rating of speech (Cohen, 1980, p. 20–23). Rating an individual's performance by such criteria as these, they argue, is pedagogically more useful and communicatively more accurate. An extended 9-level interview assessment scale of this type, designed by Carroll (1980, p. 135) is included as Appendix C.

Finally, in a general way, interview testing has important limitations that every tester must be aware of. Although interviews are planned to replicate as closely as possible everyday communication, in several ways they are atypical. Clark (1979, p. 38) has observed that "talking to the examiner isn't the same as speaking to a waiter, taxi driver or friend." The psychological and affectional components of communication present in the interview also differ from ordinary communication (Jones 1975, p. 14). In addition, the usefulness of interview-based evaluations may be lessened by differences in communication style transferred from another language and culture by the interviewee to the target language. Richards (1981, p. 7–26) details some of the problems that occur in conversations as a result of this communication style transference. These recognized limitations, however, do not invalidate interview tests as measures of speaking proficiency. They merely require that such interviews be designed and conducted with the utmost care and flexibility necessary.

Modification of a model is a natural consequence of recognized inadequacy. And, as the FSI model is limited in a number of practical ways, changes in its design and use have readily been made. These changes, briefly surveyed, come in six areas. The first, the use of a sole examiner instead of two at the FSI, is unavoidable for most teachers and testers due to the number of interviewees and the burden of other work. Further, examiner self-training (through reading, experience, heightened awareness) is a related accommodation to practical circumstances. The third common change, a shortening of interview-time, is also an obvious accommodation. Though the FSI can extend interviews to nearly half an hour, few teachers or testers can possibly do so. This has inevitably resulted in interviews being conducted in between five and ten minutes per interviewee. It is important to note here that the Educational Testing Service (Clark 1978, p. 227–8) has determined that interviews in the five-to-seven minute range are adequate for valid and reliable rating by trained examiners. The fourth common change is to increase the efficiency of the interview by testing groups instead of individuals. Reschke (1978, p. 82) has suggested testing from three to five persons at each session. The present writer has much successful experience with groups of three. The fifth general modification concerns the checklist and rating scales. Clark (in Valette 1977, p. 161) has simplified and shortened the FSI checklist scales to make them more useful in the classroom. Schulz and Bartz have developed "pragmatic" scales that score the level of communication present in the interviewee's speech sample. The Schulz Communicative Competence Scale (in Valette 1977, p. 161) rates "fluency," "comprehensibility," "amount of communication," and "quality of communication." Bartz' scale (in Valette 1977, p. 150–1) mirrors Schulz' except that "effort to communicate" is interchanged with "comprehensibility" (Appendix D). The sixth and final major area of change from the FSI model is the specific use of the interview for other purposes. Although the majority of these other uses will be outlined in Section IV, the use of the interview for strictly diagnostic purposes has been discussed by Graham (1978, p. 33–9).

These modifications demonstrate that the general format of the FSI oral interview is adequate as a model for the design of language proficiency interviews. Though the FSI model is strictly appropriate for only the specific purpose for which it was designed, it can be modified to serve wider testing requirements. Properly understood, the FSI interview model can aid both classroom teachers and more formal testers in their design, administration, and rating of proficiency interview tests.

IV A PRACTICAL PRIMER: GUIDELINES AND SUGGESTIONS

The purpose of this section, plainly, is to provide some guidelines and practical suggestions for the designing, administering, and rating of language proficiency interviews. The three former sections presented a rationale for this kind of testing, described and critiqued the most prominent model, and surveyed limitations and modifications. This section is to be a practical conclusion. But, before launching into practicality, I would like to extend the discussion to include the many practical uses of proficiency interviews. These popular uses went largely unmentioned before in order to avoid unnecessary confusion during the description and critique of the FSI model. Now it aids in the effort to recognize these other purposes: the language proficiency interview (LPI) as a part of a formal or informal course or program needs assessment study; the use of the LPI in ability-grouping and as a motivational and self- and peer-grading technique; the LPI as a diagnostic evaluation instrument and as a practical means of establishing and maintaining classroom and program goals of communicative language use; and the use of the DPI to maintain certain course or program proficiency requirements or standards (foreign-language teacher certification, etc.). These common uses demonstrate that interviewing can also be instrumental means to various practical teaching and administrative ends.

The design of an appropriate LPI procedure implies more than the mere adoption of a recommended rating scale. In fact, proper design requires the employment of a process than can ensure a valid, reliable and practical test instrument. The FSI model, itself, is the successful product of just such a design process—a process others can use to create proficiency interview tests suited to their particular circumstances.

This process of design is the main subject of discussion below.

Ryan and Frederiksen (1951), cited and discussed by Jones (1979, p. 52-3), developed a process for the preparation of performance tests which are valid, reliable and practical. Though intended as a general process for a wide variety of testing needs, it can be adapted to the more specific needs of language proficiency interviewing. Ryan and Frederiksen listed seven steps in performance test design: (1) make a job analysis; (2) select tasks to represent the job; (3) develop a rating form; (4) survey the practical limitations; (5) develop a tentative operating plan; (6) try out the test and revise it; and (7) prepare directions for administration and use of the test.

This general process can be adapted to serve LPI testing. By re-wording and grouping some of the steps, the process can be reduced to five easily remembered stages: (1) analyze the needs; (2) select representative tasks; (3) develop a rating form; (4) accommodate the limitations; and (5) train the examiner. By following these steps carefully, the test designer can devise an instrument for the specific group of learners which takes into account all of the variables of their language needs and use, as the FSI instrument does for those of its target population. These stages of test development are discussed separately below.

1. *Analyze the communicative needs of the interviewee(s)*

For what reason is the interviewee being tested? To decide if his speaking proficiency is adequate or not for a certain job? To rank his ability in relation to his fellow learners? Questions of this type are critically important at this first stage. Before it is possible to decide *how* to conduct the interview, the need for which the interview is being held must be specified. Needs range from the communicatively narrow (taking customers' orders in a restaurant) to the very broad and complex (negotiating contracts for the purchase of computer components). Needs can also be teacher-derived (diagnosis) and program-centred (certification requirements). Once this need is specified clearly, the process of designing the interview test can proceed smoothly; without its description, the testing will be a hard and likely fruitless task.

Practically speaking, this need should be written down as the purpose statement of the test, for the designer's later reference when he is planning how to elicit and rate the speech samples. This written description should also include information relating to the target communicative settings (formal/informal business meetings, academic seminars, touristic exchanges, etc.), needs for expert knowledge (scientific, commercial, etc.), other special requirements (speech-making, for instance), and the tolerance of error allowable in the interactions. Further, the statement should list at least some of the functional uses of language that will be required. Most teachers and testers are familiar with the writings of D. A. Wilkins (1976) and J. A. van Ek (1976) on the notional and functional uses of language in communication. Van Ek (p. 45–49) proposes a list of functions (accepting an offer or invitation, expressing capability or incapability, expressing disappointment, etc.) that can aid in this need specification of the interviewee. John Munby (1978, p. 123–131) also provides a taxonomy of language skills which can be consulted for this purpose.

2. *Select representative communication tasks for testing*

At this stage, a representative sample of the communication tasks of the targeted need must be selected. Obviously, the interviewee cannot be tested for all of the needs that have been identified. Therefore, a small but appropriate sample must be chosen for the brief testing period. Sampling should range from the easy to the more difficult functional tasks (greeting, apologizing, explaining, defending, etc.) and deal with the specific areas and topics of discourse that have been pinpointed. Therefore, when interviewing electrical engineers, for example, some of the tasks must relate to true-to-life engineering topics, possibly the individual's special field or research. Asking only social/general questions of an individual being tested for engineering-specific speaking proficiency results in inadequate knowledge of his true proficiency and a wasted interview.

The second challenge of interview test design, then, is deciding what questions to ask and how to ask them. In a conversational format, two strategies for efficient questioning can be recommended. The first is the use of carefully prepared "ceiling questions" which are designed to test the interviewee's proficiency at the top of each level of the proficiency rating scale. Appropriate greetings and such opening formalities may convince the examiner that the interviewee possesses sufficient proficiency to be tested on the next higher level. Responses to subsequent "ceiling questions" may suggest that a certain level should be further explored for difficulty. When this tentative rating level has been found, the second strategy, that of asking several related questions of increasing difficulty on a specific topic, may be used. The purpose of this strategy is to make certain the rating level and explore the breadth of the interviewee's vocabulary and his general ability to engage in topical discussion. It has been noted by Morrow (in Carroll 1980, p. 12) that language is essentially interactive, unpredictable, purposive and contextualized. Therefore, the greatest care should be taken to ensure that the communicative exchanges initiated by the examiner replicate as closely as possible genuine language use. Both types of questions, in sufficient quantities, should be prepared ahead of time and written down for instant reference.

Direct interview testing, as defined in Section I, also includes the use of role-play, informal oral interpretation, reversal of roles, situational problems, group discussions on prepared topics, and other techniques. These techniques are especially useful when more than ten minutes is available for each interview, and when group interviews are held. I have found that "interviewing" groups of three students engaged in a pre-planned discussion without notes for thirty minutes is both a useful and enjoyable way to assess speaking proficiency.

Speeches, both extemporaneous and prepared, however, should not be assigned as proficiency evaluation tasks. This communication form, though oral, lacks the essentially interactive nature of genuine oral communication.

As long as the questions asked and the tasks assigned are directly related to the needs of the interviewees and are not so contrived as to tax the imagination unduly, these approaches to eliciting speech samples will be successful.

3. *Develop a Rating Scale*

Much has already been written about checklist and rating scales, and examples have been placed in the appendix for the reader's review. Jones notes in his discussion (1979, p. 53) that "the key to achieving objectivity in a performance test is the checklist and rating scale." While this may be true of non-language tests, we have seen that clear objectivity in interview tests cannot be achieved completely due to the variety and complexity of oral communication. Nonetheless, predetermined rating criteria must be used to "channel" the examiner's attention toward those factors considered most important in this communication. Criteria chosen for general consideration should include not only the traditional set (accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency, and, to the degree possible, comprehension) but also the so-called criteria of communication: quality and amount of communication, effort to communicate, and communicative effectiveness. In my experience, it is best to place emphasis on the latter group and allow the former set to qualify or explain the conclusions reached. Thus, I value the extent to which an individual can communicate his desires clearly in the language more than his excellence in pronunciation. Pronunciation, in fact, should only be considered a factor when it detracts from the interviewee's communicative ability in a specific setting. Vocabulary and grammar, likewise, become significant when the specified topics raised cannot be discussed with accuracy and in sufficient detail.

In attempting to judge communicative effectiveness, it is useful to qualify one's overall impression with the interviewee's use of rhetorical behaviors. These behaviors come into play as the proficiency of the individual increases. Einhorn (1981, p. 217-228) has isolated six such behaviors (identification with interviewer, argument support, organization, style, delivery, and images conveyed) that determined success or failure for applicants in job interviews. Such behaviors are also significant factors in the effectiveness of interpersonal oral communication.

How one uses these chosen (and weighted) criteria in arriving at rating decisions is much in dispute. While the formal FSI model suggests that final rating is decided by the computation of five separately scored factors, in fact FSI examiners rarely use this procedure. Apparently, they are so familiar with the characteristics that differentiate one rating level from another that they can easily categorize performances. Whether they even analyze performance in terms of the five factors specifically is uncertain. Callaway (1980, p. 111) states that dividing oral performance into components is superfluous as raters make holistic unidimensional judgements. My experience suggests that it is unnecessary to compute separate scores but that intimate knowledge of the rating levels is necessary so that the rater can transfer his essentially subjective judgements to that scale efficiently. Criteria, written down as reference, are essential to maintain the examiner's approach to performance rating for all interviewees. Practical knowledge of the rating scale grounds the criteria in function.

With the foregoing in mind, a rating scale must be developed that relates directly to the interviewees. The FSI scale, gross in units (only five) and stretching from intermediate speaking ability to more advanced, may be appropriate for few testing situations. More detailed is the business-oriented Daiei scale (Appendix E) and Carroll's scale. The latter seems good for general academic use, and language school courses. In any case, as proficiency rating charts are extremely difficult to construct, especially when several levels of proficiency must be differentiated, it is recommended that already available scales be adapted for specific purposes. With adequate experience and special need, custom-made proficiency ratings can be devised.

4. *Accommodate the Limitations*

Accommodating the limitations is the sub-process of fitting the interview test to the circumstances. At this stage of design and preparation, the test has already been shaped in a variety of ways, perhaps subconsciously, by the limits of time, ability level, urgency or importance of purpose, etc. The designer has likely already decided the length of each interview, whether individuals or groups will be tested, the amount of preparation required of the examiner, and other factors. It is useful, nonetheless, to review the form of the interview and its operating schedule to see if any improvements can be made or if anything has been forgotten. One factor that seems to be often neglected is examiner-fatigue. This is a malady which invariably attacks examiners about half-way through planned interview schedules. To lessen its effects, a regular rest break should be taken during each hour of interviewing.

5. *The Training of the Examiner*

What remains to be accomplished is the training of the examiner and the pilot-testing of the planned interview test —two requirements that complement one another rather well. Just as the interviewees must have prepared themselves over their learning period to perform successfully, so must the individual examiner prepare himself to elicit and rate well. This preparation takes two forms, general and specific. General preparation involves the examiner's intellectual understanding of the interview as a forum of communication and as a testing vehicle. This form of preparation requires study in the disciplines of testing, discourse analysis, and related areas. It also requires an increased sensitivity toward language use and a keen ability to differentiate genuine and effective oral performances. Specific training is best accomplished in the interview process itself. As noted before, the FSI uses tapes of previous tests and anecdotal materials prepared by experienced examiners in the training of new raters. Few, if any, ordinary testers have an opportunity for such a careful training. Novice testers, however, can ask to join in interviews conducted by colleagues, or do "mock" interviews during class time to gain experience. Further, the novice can "test" the English of native-speakers and fluent non-native speakers as means of setting appropriate expectations of performance for later interviews. There are many daily opportunities to evaluate speech, and these can be used for training purposes. In fact, the design of the interview test includes "training" in needs assessment, task selection, criteria choice, and measurement scale design. In the final stage of examiner training, the planned interview test can be pilot-tested with an unrelated group of individuals to test its actual practicality and the ability of the examiner to elicit and rate efficiently. These pilot-testings can be cassette-recorded and reviewed later. Thus, in any number of ways, examiners can prepare themselves for the difficult tasks involved in interview testing of speaking proficiency.

CONCLUSION

In Japan, perhaps more than elsewhere, testing defines learning. Learners readily identify the nature and worth of the experience by the form and difficulty of the test. Therefore, in language classes where the guiding aim has been shifted to communicative use, proficiency interview testing has a special role to play.

This proficiency interviewing has much to recommend it. In the classroom, it dramatically demonstrates the goal of the activities. Learners soon realize, at the time of the diagnostic group-interview, that it is their speaking proficiency, not their memorization skills, that is important. and "framing" a course with a beginning diagnostic interview and an ending proficiency evaluation is a powerful encouragement for taking all of the classroom communication activities seriously. Oral performances, characteristically both open and personal, force learners to monitor their own progress more carefully.

Valid and reliable proficiency interviewing is within the grasp of all teachers and testers. The process of test design and examiner training, though time-consuming initially, opens up new ways of thinking about language use—and language teaching and learning.

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APPENDIX A

The FSI Proficiency Ratings

Level 1: *Able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements.* Can ask and answer questions on topics very familiar to him or her; within the scope of his or her very limited language experience can understand simple questions and statements, allowing for slowed speech, repetition or paraphrase; speaking vocabulary inadequate to express anything but the most elementary needs; errors in pronunciation and grammar are frequent, but can be understood by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners attempting to speak his or her language. While elementary needs vary considerably from individual to individual, any person at level 1 should be able to order a simple meal, ask for shelter or lodging, ask and give simple directions, make purchases, and tell time.

Level 2: *Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements.* Can handle with confidence but not with facility most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family, and autobiographical information; can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties; can get the gist of most conversations on nontechnical subjects (i.e. topics that require no specialized knowledge) and has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to express himself or herself simply with some circumlocutions; accent, though often quite faulty, is intelligible; can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar.

Level 3: *Able to speak the language with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social, and professional topics.* Can discuss particular interests and special fields of competence with reasonable ease; comprehension is quite complete for a normal rate of speech; vocabulary is broad enough that he or she rarely has to grope for a word; accent may be obviously foreign; control of grammar good; errors never interfere with understanding and rarely disturb the native speaker.

Level 4: *Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to professional needs.* Can understand and participate in any conversation within the range of his or her experience with a high degree of fluency and precision of vocabulary; would rarely be taken for a native speaker, but can respond appropriately even in unfamiliar situations; errors of pronunciation and grammar quite rare; can handle informal interpreting from and into the language.

Level 5: *Speaking proficiency equivalent to that of an educated native speaker.* Has complete fluency in the language such that his or her speech on all levels is fully accepted by educated native speakers in all of its features, including breadth of vocabulary and idiom, colloquialisms, and pertinent cultural references.

APPENDIX B

The FSI Checklist of Performance Factors and Descriptions

Accent

1. Pronunciation frequently unintelligible.
2. Frequent gross errors and a very heavy accent make understanding difficult, require frequent repetition.
3. "Foreign accent" requires concentrated listening and mispronunciations lead to occasional misunderstanding and apparent errors in grammar or vocabulary.
4. Marked "foreign accent" and occasional mispronunciations that do not interfere with understanding.
5. No conspicuous mispronunciations, but would not be taken for a native speaker.
6. Native pronunciation, with no trace of "foreign accent."

Grammar

1. Grammar almost entirely inaccurate except in stock phases.
2. Constant errors showing control of very few major patterns and frequently preventing communication.
3. Frequent errors showing some major patterns uncontrolled and causing occasional irritation and misunderstanding.
4. Occasional errors showing imperfect control of some patterns but no weakness that causes misunderstanding.
5. Few errors, with no patterns of failure.
6. No more than two errors during the interview.

Vocabulary

1. Vocabulary inadequate for even the simplest conversation.
2. Vocabulary limited to basic personal and survival areas (time, food, transportation, family, etc.).
3. Choice of words sometimes inaccurate, limitations of vocabulary prevent discussion of some common professional and social topics.
4. Professional vocabulary adequate to discuss special interests; general vocabulary permits discussion of any nontechnical subject with some circumlocutions.

5. Professional vocabulary broad and precise; general vocabulary adequate to cope with complex practical problems and varied social situations.
6. Vocabulary apparently as accurate and extensive as that of an educated native speaker.

Fluency

1. Speech is so halting and fragmentary that conversation is virtually impossible.
2. Speech is very slow and uneven except for short or routine sentences.
3. Speech is frequently hesitant and jerky; sentences may be left uncompleted.
4. Speech is occasionally hesitant, with some unevenness caused by rephrasing and groping for words.
5. Speech is effortless and smooth, but perceptibly non-native in speed and evenness.
6. Speech on all professional and general topics as effortless and smooth as a native speaker's.

Comprehension

1. Understands too little for the simplest type of conversation.
2. Understands only slow, very simple speech on common social and touristic topics; requires constant repetition and rephrasing.
3. Understands careful, somewhat simplified speech directed to him or her, with considerable repetition and rephrasing.
4. Understands quite well normal educated speech directed to him or her, but requires occasional repetition or rephrasing.
5. Understands everything in normal educated conversation except for very colloquial or low-frequency items or exceptionally rapid or slurred speech.
6. Understands everything in both formal and colloquial speech to be expected of an educated native speaker.

The FSI Weighting and Conversion Tables

FSI Weighting Table

Proficiency Description ⟶	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Accent	0	1	2	2	3	4	
Grammar	6	12	18	24	30	36	
Vocabulary	4	8	12	16	20	24	
Fluency	2	4	6	8	10	12	
Comprehension	4	8	12	15	19	23	
						Total:	

FSI Conversion Table

Total Score	Level	Total Score	Level	Total Score	Level
16-25	0+	43-52	2	73-82	3+
26-32	1	53-62	2+	83-92	4
33-42	1+	63-72	3	93-99	4+

APPENDIX C

Canoll's Interview Assessment Scale

Band	
9	Expert speaker. Speaks with authority on a variety of topics. Can initiate, expand and develop a theme.
8	Very good non-native speaker. Maintains effectively his own part of a discussion. Initiates, maintains and elaborates as necessary. Reveals humour where needed and responds to attitudinal tones.
7	Good speaker. Presents case clearly and logically and can develop the dialogue coherently and constructively. Rather less flexible and fluent than Band 8 performer but can respond to main changes of tone or topic. Some hesitation and repetition due to a measure of language restriction but interacts effectively.
6	Competent speaker. Is able to maintain theme of dialogue, to follow topic switches and to use and appreciate main attitude markers. Stumbles and hesitates at times but is reasonably fluent otherwise. Some errors and inappropriate language but these will not impede exchange of views. Shows some independence in discussion with ability to initiate.
5	Modest speaker. Although gist of dialogue is relevant and can be basically understood, there are noticeable deficiencies in mastery of language patterns and style. Needs to ask for repetition or clarification and similarly to be asked for them. Lacks flexibility and initiative. The interviewer often has to speak rather deliberately. Copes but not with great style or interest.
4	Marginal speaker. Can maintain dialogue but in a rather passive manner, rarely taking initiative or guiding the discussion. Has difficulty in following English at normal speed; lacks fluency and probably accuracy in speaking. The dialogue is therefore neither easy nor flowing. Nevertheless, gives the impression that he is in touch with the gist of the dialogue even if not wholly master of it. Marked L1 accent.
3	Extremely limited speaker. Dialogue is a drawn-out affair punctuated with hesitations and misunderstandings. Only catches part of normal speech and unable to produce continuous and accurate discourse. Basic merit is just hanging on to discussion gist, without making major contribution to it.
2	Intermittent speaker. No working facility; occasional, sporadic communication.
1/0	Non-speaker. Not able to understand and/or speak.

APPENDIX D

Bartz' Rating Scale

A.	Fluency	1	2	3	4	5	6
B.	Quality of Communication	1	2	3	4	5	6
C.	Amount of Communication	1	2	3	4	5	6
D.	Effort to Communicate	1	2	3	4	5	6

The levels of the scales are defined as follows:

A. *Fluency* (similar to the Foreign Service Institute scale)

B. *Quality of Communication*

1. Speech consists *mostly* of inappropriate isolated words and/or incomplete sentences with just a *few* very short complete sentences.
2. Speech consists of *many* inappropriate isolated words and/or incomplete sentences with *some* very short complete sentences.
3. Speech consists of *some* inappropriate isolated words and/or incomplete sentences with *many* very short complete sentences.
4. Speech consists of *hardly any* isolated words and/or incomplete sentences with *mostly* complete sentences.
5. Speech consists of isolated words only if appropriate and *almost always* complete sentences.
6. Speech consists of isolated words only if appropriate, otherwise *always* "native-like" appropriate complete sentences.

C. *Amount of Communication*

1. *Virtually no* relevant information was conveyed by the student.
2. *Very little* relevant information was conveyed by the student.
3. *Some* relevant information was conveyed by the student.
4. *A fair amount* of relevant information was conveyed by the student.
5. *Most* relevant information was conveyed by the student.
6. *All* relevant information was conveyed by the student.

D. *Effort to Communicate*

1. Student withdraws into long periods of silence, without any apparent effort to complete the task.
2. Student makes *little* effort to communicate, what he does do is "half-hearted," without any enthusiasm.
3. Student makes *some* effort to communicate, but still shows a rather "disinterested" attitude.

4. Student makes an effort to communicate but does not use any non-verbal resources, such as gestures.
5. Student makes a real effort to communicate and uses some non-verbal resources such as gestures.
6. Student makes a special (unusually high) effort to communicate and uses all possible resources, verbal and non-verbal, to express himself or herself.

APPENDIX E

The Daiei's English Proficiency Level Breakdown
(slightly revised)

(A) Level – International Executive Level
Fluent both in daily conversation and in specific situations, he can be precise in many fields. His high-level command of the language enables him to participate effectively, intelligently and logically in international conferences, to manage the overseas branch of a company, can conduct reliable negotiations, with perceptive understanding of Western thinking. Can fully comprehend Western speech and can convey the finer nuances as well as colloquial speech. May be competent enough to occasionally act as interpreter in social or formal situation. Can cope with study abroad, alone, e.g. post-graduate work, etc.

(B) Level – International Business Level
Competent and fluent enough to participate actively in conversations with Westerners, can discuss business without too many difficulties. May make some grammatical errors, minor or otherwise, but no serious problems in vocabulary, sentence structures, patterns, pronunciaion, etc., in communicating. Can express himself relatively well and can be considered for job abroad. Though some lack of self-confidence may be shown, he should be able to handle most unexpected problems social or job-wise, without due stress. His fluency may not be on the par of the Westerners', but his comprehension and perception is almost up-to-par. Can be considered and is willing for long-term study or job abroad.

(C) Level – Basic Business Level
Can handle uncomplicated business related conversations, capable of most daily conversations on a social level, but fluency is not up-to-par with comprehension. Can express himself, though with some difficulty. Responses may be a little slow due to his concern regarding his English ability, and may be slightly ill-at-ease with Western speech and/or Westerners. Can fulfill overseas job, but may not handle it alone, easily, on a long-term basis. May be able to handle himself linguistically

working as a trainee at an overseas branch. May be capable of auditing undergraduate work in an overseas university.

(D) Level – Basic Fluency Level
As he has already acquired basic vocabulary, sentence structures and patterns, he can generally understand daily conversation. Understands and is able to communicate only in very specific situations: meeting or assisting customers or guests, check-in and out of hotels, able to deal with people on a basic level, but not ready for more complicated discussions. Cannot convey complicated opinions and/or information. In a business conversation, can handle only on limited basis. May be able to fulfill his overseas duties if in a group on a short-term basis. Whether he is ready for working overseas may be questionable, and up to the discretion of his employer.

(E) Level – Basic Social Level
Can conduct simple social, basic conversation, greetings, etc. Can comprehend partially what the speaker says, but has difficulty in responding and expressing himself. His practical knowledge of advanced structures or vocabulary is lacking. If a lack of self-confidence is evident, in both himself, his job, etc., and his English, one can anticipate many problems, particularly if sent abroad alone only to be aggravated further by his too limited English.

(F) Level – Elementary Level
If the subjects are limited to simple, daily matters, he can converse, somewhat, though in a highly unskilled way and with frequent death pauses, and sometimes or often responds incorrectly. There are still deficiencies in fundamental sentence structures, vocabulary, etc. Can understand to some extent if spoken to slowly, repetitively, and using simple words.

(G) Level – Introductory
Very basic level in English conversation. Can understand simple phrases and sentences only, and if spoken to slowly and clearly. Though restricted to the above level, he can respond, though his response may be long overdue and in a one or two word answer. Exchange of opinions and/or ideas almost impossible. Acquisition of further, intensive study of basic English is a necessity. Real conversation ability at this level is almost nil.

SPECULATIONS INTO THE DISTRIBUTIVE FUNCTION OF CONSONANTS AND VOWELS IN ENGLISH AND JAPANESE*

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ABSTRACT

It is proposed in this paper that the air pressure involved in producing the speech sounds of English is much stronger than that required in Japanese. Some analyses of the composition of English and Japanese words in terms of the ratio of consonant to vowel sounds in a syllable are presented to prove the point. Through this discussion, some peculiarities in the composition of English words are revealed in support of the theory of stronger air pressure being necessary in the production of English speech sounds. The proposition is further elucidated through the examination of phenomena peculiar to English.

This paper concludes that the differing levels of air pressure involved in the production of speech sounds in English and Japanese should be studied much more carefully than has hitherto been done.

This paper is an attempt to show what the most striking difference in the production of speech sounds between the English speaker and the Japanese speaker is, making use of somewhat subjective observations about the phenomena in English that might be considered as accidental coincidences unless concerned care is focused upon them.

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There may be many phonological differences between English and Japanese. There does not seem, however, to be any more conspicuous difference between the two languages than the ways in which both of the languages distribute consonantal sounds and vocalic ones in their vocabulary. When we closely examine what this difference could mean to both languages, it becomes possible to speculate that the way the English language distributes its consonants among vowels shows a preference toward strong air pressure in pronunciation, whereas Japanese structures its vowels between consonants so frequently and regularly that it may be said to show a reverse inclination.

First, let's consider English consonants and their distributions. Even a casual analysis of the number of English consonants used per vowel seems to point to the clear difference between the two languages. For example, take the following English words and see the ratio of consonants in the syllables:

$$\underset{1}{\underline{S}}\,\underset{2}{\underline{C}}\,\underset{3}{\underline{R}}\,\mathrm{I}\,\underset{4}{\underline{P}}\,\underset{5}{\underline{T}}\qquad \underset{1}{\underline{S}}\,\underset{2}{\underline{T}}\,\underset{3}{\underline{R}}\,\mathrm{O}\,\underset{4}{\underline{N}}\,\underset{5}{\underline{G}}\qquad \underset{1}{\underline{S}}\,\underset{2}{\underline{T}}\,\underset{3}{\underline{R}}\,\mathrm{U}\,\underset{4}{\underline{G}}\,\mathrm{G}\,\underset{5}{\underline{L}}\,\mathrm{E}$$

The number of consonants used per vowel is five to one. Although such a combination is not the only one, English has many words of this ratio, while such a combination would be impossible in the way in which Japanese arranges consonants against vowels. The most one can expect in Japanese as a ratio of consonants to vowels is two to one in words such as:

MINNA (everybody)   KITTA (cut, past form)
GAKKO (shool)

Although English consonants can cluster around a vowel in numbers of more than three, such combinations of consonants can never, in any circumstances, occur in Japanese. This unmistakably clear difference of consonantal vowel ratio should not pass unnoticed as the carrier of an important phonological difference between the two languages.

Consonants, however, are not the only English speech sounds that behave so dramatically differently from those in Japanese. The vowels in the two languages do have a marked difference in their manners of appearance. For example, a combination of three or four straight vowels constituting a word, without a single consonant in it, can be found in Japanese in various forms as follows:

Examples of three vowels constituting a word:

> AOI (blue, adj.) AOU (Let's meet.) IAI (a skill in Japanese swordplay) IEI (a poem by the deceased) EII (a position of honor) OOI (many) OUI (the throne) IEE (no) IOU (sulfur)

Examples of four vowels constituting a word:

> AIOI (be born together, or grow together)
> IIAU (argue) OIOI (gradually)

Such generous combinations of straight vowels do not exist in English. Therefore, some possibilities of vowel combinations may be unthinkable to the English speaker as; (1) a Japanese word can contain three or four identical vowels in a consecutive series; (2) an utterance in Japanese can collect 13 consecutive vowels in a straight series. Some examples are:

> OOOKU (the inner palace)
>
> OOOJI (granduncle)
>
> OOOTOKO (a giantic man; an extremely big man)
>
> OOBA (grandaunt)
>
> KARERA WASONO HITO NO

O	O	I	A	O	I	I	E	O	A	U	I	E	NI
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	

SURU KOTO NI KIMETA.

(A translation can be: they decided on the blue house with many people as a meeting place.)

The possibility or permissibility of such a great number of straight vowels in Japanese is significant, as will be made clear in the latter section of this paper.

Differences between English and Japanese consonants and vowels in the manner of their appearance, as dicussed above, may not seem to reveal anything further than different combinations both peoples employ in arranging speech sounds. However, what Ladefoged tells us about the production of consonant sounds (Ladefoged, 1975) reveals a property of English consonants which has become a source of many speculations related to the theme of this paper.

"In order to form consonants, the airstream through the vocal tract must be obstructed in some way."[1] If, as Ladefoged says, the production of consonant sounds entails some obstruction of the airstream, English words such as "script, strong, struggle," having many more consonants around a vowel than any word in Japanese can have, should result in a much greater obstruction of air in their production. If so, the process also requires much stronger air pressure. Figure 1 depicts the passage of air in the cases of both a consonant and a vowel.

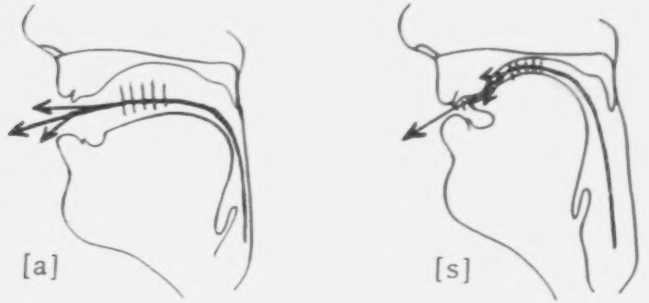


Figure 1

The two illustrations in Figure 1 are meant to show that the vowel [a] has an unobstructed airstream, whereas the consonant [s] has its airstream obstructed in two places, one at the area of the alvelar ridge and another at the raised tip of the tongue. What can be speculated from these observations is that air obstructed against a wall of solid substance, as in the case of the pronunciation of [s], can easily build up more air pressure than air pushing against a wall of air as the atomosphere enveloping the speaker's face, as in the production of a vowel sound such as [a]. Moreover, [s] has the opening gradually narrowed for the release of the compressed pulmonic air output from the oral cavity and this is also instrumental to make the air pressure in the oral cavity greater than for the vowel sound [a], which has a greater opening vailable for the release of the same output. For these reasons it can be surmised that the areas with diagonally crossed lines close to the lips should have different air pressure in the pronunciation of the two sounds, and in the case of the consonant [s] the air pressure should be stronger.

One can conduct a simple experiment to test this. While pronouncing the vowel [a], raise the tongue to the exact articulatory position of [s] and then stop voicing while maintaining equal pulmonic air output. The consonant [s] cannot be produced in this way unless there is an increase of air pressure by running the air faster within the oral cavity to make a strong hissing sound required for a correctly pronounced [s].

Similar experiments with all the other English consonants seem to prove that, concerning increased air pressure, the same can be said of almost all the English consonants. These consonants are:

[p, b, t, d, k, g, f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ].

Some exceptions seem to be:

[m, n, r, j, w, l.].

However, even with these consonants, an effort to increase air pressure in pronouncing them makes for clear pronunciation.

If the above point is granted, it becomes possible to say that each addition of a consonant sound around a vowel or in a word can result in the accumulation of air pressure in its pronunciation. If so, a generalization is now possible that because many English words have more consonants around a vowel or in a word than those in Japanese do, much more air pressure is inherently required in their pronunciation.

This simple generalization has a still greater implication when the distribution of English vowels is examined and it is proved that they, too, are arranged in such a manner as to assist the pressure of air in the oral cavity to be as high as possible. This observation leads to the ultimate conclusion of this paper; that the native speaker of English is extremely conscious of air pressure in the production of his speech sounds, whereas the native speaker of Japanese has little air pressure consciousness in his production of both Japanese and English speech sounds. An awareness of air pressure differences may deserve to be brought to the attention of the Japanese learner of English as a second language.

In order to develop this awareness, it may be best to start with a brief discussion of the manner in which the air pressure in the oral tract can be raised to its highest point in the production of a vocalic speech sound in English. If an equal amount of air, with equal pressure, were pushed out of the lungs and reached the lips, just about to pass through between them, the air pressure by then would be highest if the oral cavity and tract were narrowed to make the area of the air passage the smallest. One way in which a person can realize this effect is to lift the blade and the tip of the tongue to the height that almost reaches the alvelar ridge, and the result is the creation of a higher air pressure than the oral tract creates when the tongue is in a rest position. The resulting vowel, when phonated, is of course, the speech sound named a high front vowel, and this is the first sound in a word such as "eat".

It is important to notice that the highest air pressure among the English vowels, produced in the manner explained above, creates this sound [i], because [i] is the most frequently used vowel sound (although sometimes unstressed) in the English vocabulary. One way to prove this point seems to lie in the actual count of vowel distribution in utterances of some length by a native speaker of English. To find the vowel distribution of the Japanese version of the very same text in English, the choice of the passages tested for this study was made on the ground that a reliable translation of the original English was available. For this reason, the first couple of paragraphs from the bilingual edition of

Somerset Maugham-4 with translation and annotation by Yagi, Tsuyoshi and Goto, Mitsuyasu were chosen.[2] The paragraphs were first transcribed into broad phonetic transcription and then all the vowels in the passage were counted according to the following 8 groups of vowels. The numbers on the right side of the table are the result of the vowel count from the passage.

(1) High front vowels	[i , ɩ]	283	29%	of the total	vowels
(2) Mid front vowels	[e , ɛ]	103	11%	”	”
(3) Low front vowels	[æ]	71	7%	”	”
(4) Mid central vowel	[ə]	265	27%	”	”
(5) Low central vowel	[ʌ]	33	3%	”	”
(6) High back vowels	[u , ʊ]	64	7%	”	”
(7) Mid back vowels	[o , ɔ]	77	8%	”	”
(8) Low back vowels	[a , ɑ]	70	7%	”	”

According to the count, the high front vowels proved to be the most numerous vowels, and the second largest percentage the mid-central unaccented vowel (schwa). It is of some interest to note that [ə] can be pronounced either with the tip of the tongue raised higher than the high front vowels [i, ɩ] or lower than these. In the former case, the air pressure in the oral cavity can be maintained higher than the high front vowels. When the occurences of high front vowels and schwa are added together, they make up 56 percent of the entire vowels, which is more than half of the total vowel sounds in the passage.

When the consonants from the same passage are counted they number 1,462, and this number divided by the total of the vowels, 966, yields 1.51. This means that the consonant-vowel ratio is 1 to 1.5. As we do not have half a sound, we may form the structure CVC as the basic structure of a monosyllabic word in English. This count and its consequent form of CVC, though gathered from very small data, conform to the basic structure of monosyllabic words in the Germanic languages, as V. Y. Plotkin states in his *Dynamics of the English Phonological System*; “CVC is the cononic shape of the Germanic monosyllable.”[3]

If this is the case, the frequency of the presence of the high front vowel can be mathematically calculated. As three of the vowels, when put together, constitute more than a half of the entire vowel distribution, one of them will appear in every other syllable. In other words, when a disyllabic word consists of CVCCVC, either one or the other V in that structure has to be one of the following [i, ι, ə]. As these vowels can keep the air pressure nearly as high as that of the consonants between the vowels, and considering the effect of coarticulation, the structure CVCCVC may, in some cases, depending upon the environments which surround the vowels, be even closer in the maintained air pressure to the form of either CCCCVC or CVCCCC. This arrangement of vowels seems to support the theory of high air pressure in the oral cavity, as no other vowels in English are allowed to appear with the same degree of frequency.

In the matter of vowel distribution, the count from the Japanese text shows quite a different result. However, a word about the transcription system employed for the purposes of this paper should be added before the data is studied. That is, the transcription is not that of phonetics but a direct replacing of what appears in a Japanese hiragana rendering of the text into romaji; or, Roman letters. The reason for this is that in Japanese, while some letters or sounds are devoiced in some cases, their actual mora duration is present in the speech. The devoiced sounds are, however, clearly present in writing, showing the combination of a consonant and its accompanying vowel which is left out in speech. Therefore, all the vowels that are present in Japanese hiragana writing are counted, without exception. However, this does not alter the results significantly, because the numbers of devoiced sounds are not large enough.

The vowel count from the Japanese text are shown in the figures opposite.

The most significant difference that emerges out of the study of the ways in which both Japanese and English speakers distribute their vowel sounds in their languages (as show in the data opposite) is that the acoustic properties of the most frequently appearing vowels in the two languages

A	348	26%	of the total	vowels
I	409	24%	"	"
U	283	17%	"	"
E	162	10%	"	"
O	396	23%	"	"
	1688			

are diametrically opposed: One is high and front and the other is low and back. This leads to a natural speculation that in English, due to the three frequently appearing vowels [ı ι, ə], and even more numerous apperances of consonants, the oral cavity tends to maintain its narrow volume. On the other hand, Japanese offers an exactly reversed picture; that is, the most frequently appearing vowel sound, [a], necessitates a great number of wide openings of the mouth, and the vowels in Japanese are surrounded by a small number of consonants. Therefore, the consequence is that a large volume of air is kept in the oral cavity with frequent wide openings of the mouth.

If the greater mouth opening in production of speech sounds is the rule of thumb for Japanese, it would be extremely difficult for the Japanese to speak their language with as much air pressure as the English speakers apply in their speaking. If a Japanese wants to apply the same pressure in speaking Japanese, it would require maintenance of greater pulmonic air pressure, because, at one end of the oral tract sits a great opening constantly releasing the coming airstream with generosity. This is quite inconceivable for other reasons, too, which are not only phonological or linguistic but also sociological and psychological. For example, a Japanese would find a speaker who used an unemotional, even tone and reserved manner of speech more polite, judicious, and pleasing than a speaker with an untrameled manner of speech, using great intonational variety and loud stress.

This discussion concerning the vowel count and its results shows the great presence of high front vowels in English vocabulary. There are many other ways to support the results of the count, and they are included in the following section of the paper.

A simple and quick way to see the overriding frequency of the high front vowels in English is to look at the English alphabet and the names of the letters in it. The way the English speaking people have arranged their speech sounds and decided on their pronunciations for the purpose of either convenience or euphony is shown in the names of the letters.

Figure 2 shows each letter of the English alphabet in order, with respective pronunciations, after which is presented a close look at the vowel constituents of each.

A	B	C	D	E	F
[eι]	[bi]	[si]	[di]	[i]	[ef]
G	H	I	J	K	L
[dʒi]	[eιtʃ]	[aι]	[dʒeι]	[keι]	[el]
M	N	O	P	Q	R
[em]	[en]	[oo]	[pi]	[kju]	[ar]
S	T	U	V	W	
[es]	[ti]	[ju]	[vi]	[dəblju]	
X	Y	Z			
[eks]	[wai]	[zi]			

Figure 2

Out of twenth-six sounds represented in the alaphabet of English, 14 of them are pronounced with a high front vowel. Therefore, the percentage of high front vowels present in the pronunciation of the letters in the alphabet is 54%. The frequency of the high front vowels in quite consistent with the finding from the vowel count: the high front vowels are the most frequently appearing vowels among the vowels in English.

The much-favored high front vowels in English do not seem to receive the same favorable treatment in Japanese: a high front vowel [i] and a high back vowel [u] are the only two vocalic sounds that are entirely excluded from the standard Japanese vocabulary when they are combined with certain limited consonants. A study of the syllabary of Japanese may be necessary to see this difference clearly:

A	KA	SA	TA	NA	HA	MA	YA	RA	WA	N
I	KI	SHI	CHI	NI	HI	MI	I	RI	I	
U	KU	SU	TSU	NU	HU	MU	YU	RU	U	
E	KE	SE	TE	NE	HE	ME	E	RE	E	
O	KO	SO	TO	NO	HO	MO	YO	RO	O	

The fourth column in the syllabary shows that [ti] and [tu] are not found in the set; this is because these two sounds are not used today in standard Japanese. The substitutes for these two missing sounds are, as represented in the preceding set, "CHI" and "TSU". There is a voiced set of the consonants for "K, S, T, H." in Japanese, which are "G, Z, D, B.", but the voiced counterpart of "T" also receives the same exclusion. That is, [di] and [du] are not used in the vocabulary in standard Japanese. These four excluded speech sounds, [ti, tu, di, du.], can only find their presence in borrowed words of mostly Western origin, or in some dialects one can find in the prefecture of Okinawa.

The preceeding discussion again shows that the high front vowels are the most favored vocalic speech sounds in English. As for Japanese, according to the syllabary, it may be said that the high front vowel and high back vowel are the least favored vocalic speech sounds. One reason for this differing treatment of the vowel sounds [i] or [u] may lie in the different attitude the two language groups have in terms of the air pressure needed in the oral cavity to pronounce the sounds. In order to see what the above hypothesis means, some knowledge of the property of the vowels [i, u] should be helpful. Peter Ladefoged refers to the degree of sonority of the front vowels [i, u] as follows:[4]

> The sonority of a sound is its loudness relative to that of other sounds with the same length, stress and pitch. Try saying just the vowels [i, e, a, o, u.]. You can probably hear that the vowel [a] has greater sonority (due, largely, to its being pronounced with a greater mouth opening). You can verify this fact by asking a friend to stand some distance away from you and say these vowels in a random order. You will find that it is much easier to hear the low vowel than the high vowels [i, u.].

The same author gives estimates of the acoustic intensity of a group of sounds on comparable pitches with comparable degree of length and stress by the bar graph in Figure 3:[5]

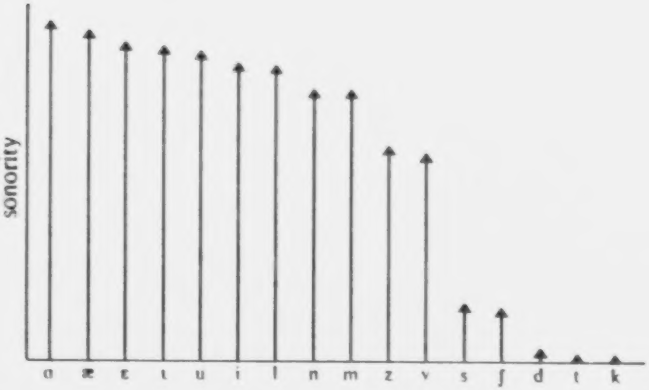


Figure 3

According to the bar graph, the high front vowel is the vowel with least sonority. It may mean that greater energy has to be applied in order to pronounce the vowel to be heard as clearly as others that have greater sonority. This fact may account for the Japanese exclusion of the vowel in some combinations, whereas English capitalizes on the very same quality of the sound. This hypothesis gains a little more ground when the consonants that have little or almost zero sonority on the graph are checked. These consonants are (d, t.] and [k]. Out of the three, two of the least sonorous consonants, [d] and [t], are excluded from Japanese in combination with the vowels which have least sonority, that is, [i] and [u]. Unlike the other two consonants [k] is not excluded, and this can also be understood from the degree of air pressure it builds up in the oral cavity. Unlike [d] and [t], [k] allows greater opening of the mouth; and, therefore, its sonority becomes higher than the two without the air pressure high in the oral cavity. Therefore, out of the three least sonorous consonants [d, t] and [k], that might be avoided in combination with the least sonorous vocalic sounds [i] and [u], only [k] is being used in combinations with [i] and [u] in Japanese.

We have observed the frequent appearances of the high front vowels in the pronunciation of the English Alphabet, and the same result can be obtained by a simply devised chart using all the English consonants and all the English vowels to examine all the monosyllabic English words having an initial consonant and an open syllable in them.

	[i,ɪ]	[ʌ]	[u,ʊ]	[e,ɛ]	[o,ɔ]	[æ]	[ə]	[a]
[m]	me							ma
[n]	knee		new					
[ŋ]								
[p]	pea, "P"				paw			pa
[b]	be, bee, "B"		boo					baa
[t]	tea, tee, "T"		to, too, two				to	
[d]	"D"		do					
[k]	Key		coo					
[g]	ghee		goo					
[f]	fee						for	
[v]	"V"							
[θ]					thaw			
[ð]	thee						the	
[s]	sea, see		sue		saw			
[z]	"Z"		zoo					

	[i, ɪ]	[ʌ]	[u, ʊ]	[e,]	[o, ɔ]	[æ]	[ə]	[a]
[ʃ]	she		shoe					
[ʒ]			Jew					
[w]	we		woo					
[r]			rue		raw			
[j]	ye		you, "U"					
[l]	lee		lieu					
[h]	he		who					
[tʃ]			chew					
[dʒ]	"G", gee				jaw			

The table shows that there are 26 words with high front vowels, the most frequently occuring vowels in English. Excepting [u], which are also high vowels, no other vowels can even come close in number of meaningful combinations to the high front vowels. The rest of the vowels are seen in only half a dozen words at best, [o, ɔ] and zero in some cases: [ʌ, e, ɛ, æ].

Even such a simple test using arbitary combinations of English consonants and vowels shows very clearly that the high front vowels are the most frequently occuring vowels. Consequently, we can assume that in proportion to the frequency of high front vowels in English, the speaker's need of high air pressure to pronounce words containing them should increase. From this point of view, let us make some further observations concerning the ways in which the high front vowels appear in English words.

The discussion has only dealt, so far, with words that are mostly monosyllabic, yet the frequency with which the high front vowels appear in polysyllable words in English is also unique. In the following discussion, attempts are made to point to the possibility that it may be only high front vowels that can occur in three consecutive series to make up English words. Such a combination with other vowels is either nonexistent or, if ever, extremely rare. However, with the high front vowels the case is different.

As an initial example, it is interesting to note the number of [i]s found in the following word:

“indivisibility ˈindiˌviziˈbiliti [-zəˈb-,-lət-]”

The pronunciation is taken from the way it is listed in *An English Pronouncing Dictionary*.[6]

There are seven straight [i]s in the word without any other vowels found in the same word. Such a word with a persistent usage of 7 identical vowels to the exclusion of all the other vowels is very hard to find in English. In fact, with other vowels, such a combination simply doesn’t exist. (Note: various English language dictionaries list different readings of the word, such as [ində-vizə-bilə-ti].)

A word with seven identical vowel sounds in succession alternating with other consonants is not easily found in English, yet three or even four high front vowels in a straight cluster in a word without any other vowels are easy to find. Schwas in some of the following words should probably be considered, judging from orthography, as high front vowels in origin. A few words should suffice as examples to prove the point:

easy- - - -easily   repeat- - -repeated- - -repeatedly
busy- - - -busily   infinite- - -infinitive- - -infinitely
insist- -insisting   increase- - -increasing- - -increasingly
desist- -desisting   decrease- - -decreasing- - -decreasingly

The list of the words with three or four high front vowels without any other vowel sounds in the word may be counted by hundreds and may even go up to thousands, yet such a combination utilizing other than high front vowels in a word is so scarce that it almost looks as if the combination is totally absent from the English vocabulary.

The discussion so far has not shown conclusively that the high front vowels are systematically employed in English on a consistently more frequent basis than other vowel sounds. As the words studied in the preceeding discussion were collected arbitrarily, this point needs further clarification. In order to do this in a brief manner, a simple set of personal pronouns are listed and studied in terms of the presence of the high front vowels.

I HE SHE WE THEY YOU

The pronunciation of all the personal pronouns given here except "you" end with a high front vowel. Although "you" looks like one exception, there is historical evidence that "you" also utilized a high front vowel before it came to be in its present form. The archaic form of the second person pronoun was "ye", and the pronunciation was; [ji]. This pronunciation is very close to the third person pronoun "he", yet evidently "ye" and "he" must have been used contemporaneously in the past. The similarity of pronunciation of these two pronouns may have caused confusion, resulting in "ye" being gradually replaced by "you".

In addition, the second person pronoun "you" used to have other forms: "thou, thy, thee." There might also have been a confusion between the forms "thou, they, thee" and "they, their, theirs."

The high front vowels are the only vowels used in the set of personal pronouns, although there are in English many other vowels available to make the last syllables of words. When the possibility that other vowels could have been brought into the personal pronoun set is considered, a point can be made that dominant usage of the high front vowels is apparent, without regard for clarity of communication.

Finally, it would be interesting to see how the high front vowel sounds [i, ι] appear in sentences. All the previous discussions show that [i, ι] are the most frequently occurring vowel sounds in English, and as such, one can easily find an utterance or a sentence in English that collects a dozen [i, ι]s without any other intervening vowels:

He didn't see these three people eating tinned fish
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

here with me in the evening
11 12 13 14 15 16 17

She, the evil green witch, feels ease in killing sweet
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

little people with these six thin spears, which is
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 18 19

indeed weird.
21 22 23

No other vowels in English, besides the high front vowels, seem to allow such a construction. In a Japanese sentence, such a consecutive appearance of a vowel sound can only be found with two back vowels; [a] and [o]. Three of the other vowels appearing in Japanese, [i, u, e], do not seem to allow such a combination with the same degree of easiness as the other two. A couple of sentences, as examples, are:

ANATAGATA DAKARA
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

W A K A R A N A K A T T A N DESU
9 10 11 12 13 14

Meaning:You did not understand because you were what you were or (because of your situation.)

DAREKA GA GAKE KARA SONO OTOKO
1 2 3 4 5

TO KODOMO O OTOSO TO KOKOROMITA
6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

Meaning: Someone tried to push the man and the child off the cliff.

The discussion up to this point has attempted to show that in the spoken English language, there is an uncommonly favored distribution of high front vowels. One reason for this is ascribed to the consciousness of high air pressure in production of speech sounds among English speakers. In Order to further examine this point, some attempts are presented in the following section of this paper.

In the preceeding discussion, the overriding frequency in occurrence of the high front vowels in the English langauge has been utilized as a possible proof of the English speaker's air pressure consciousness. The above assumption pertains to a method of inclusion or addition, for the critical question depends on how often or how many high front vowels are included in the English vocabulary. If a method of inclusion or addition to satisfy some property of a language, such as the overriding usage of a given vowel found in English, is used, it will be a highly feasible assumption that a method of exclusion to maintain exactly the same property of the language wanted is also systematically employed in that language. For this reason, the following discussions attempt to show that it is possible to look at some aspects of English using the method of exclusion, on the grounds that these phenomena received hierarchical imposition by virtue of the existence of a property of the language which has a high priority.

Before proceeding to a further discussion of the phenomena being studied, it may be of some help to depict all the sounds of English in graph form. This would make it easier to study how many parameters are available and how many are excluded from the possible combinations in terms of conditions and environments. In the following are figures for the English consonants and vowels given by Ladefoged.[7]

The two figures 4 and 5 give 13 vowels and 23 consonants (including [h, tʃ, dʒ] added in the explanation below the Figure 4) that are available for the possible combinations of speech sounds in English. If no restriction in particular is placed in the choice of speech sounds to be combined in order to compose words in the language, equal distribution of these sounds in every environment would seem to be the natural outcome. Further, ease in communication would be more efficiently attained by the equal participation of all available sounds in every available environment. However, this is not the case for the English language: out of twelve vowels (excluding a rarely used [ɒ] five of them are always excluded from appearing at the end of English words. These vowels are [ɪ , ε , æ , ʊ , ʌ]; the set of vowels classified as lax vowels. This exclusion of lax vowels from the English

Place of articulation

Manner of articulation	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar
nasal	m			n			ŋ
stop	p b			t d			k g
fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		
(central) approximant	(w)			r		j	w
lateral (approximant)				l			

Figure 4

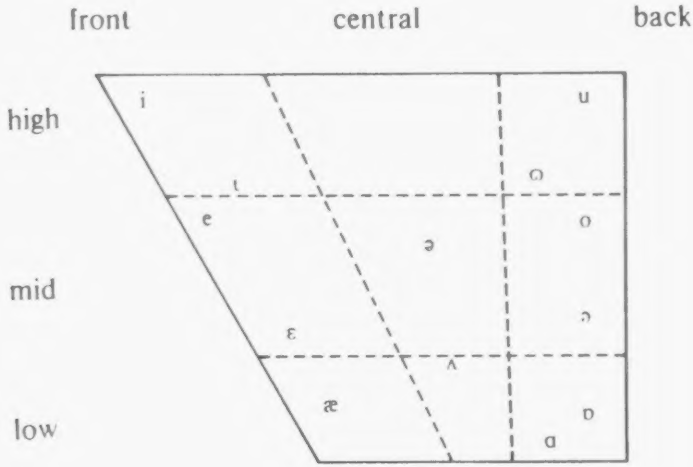

front
central
back
high
mid
low
i
ɪ
e
ɛ
æ
ə
ʌ
u
ʊ
o
ɔ
ɒ
ɑ

Figure 5

vocabulary in forming open syllables at the end of words results in the cutting almost in half of the possible number of open syllables in this position in English. This restriction, "numerically neutral" so to speak, is quite a heavy exclusion and selection.

Ladefoged refers to the three sets of vowels in pairs of a tense and lax vowel, [i, ι], (eι, ε] and [u, ω]: "In each of these pairs the lax vowel is shorter, lower, and slightly more centralized than the corresponding tense vowel."[8] The quality of the tongue position being lower and slightly centralized in pronouncing these vowels can be viewed in terms of air pressure as follows: When the tongue is lower and more centralized, the air pressure in the oral cavity is also low. The exclusion of [ʌ] and [æ], also, may be attributed to this effect of lowering the air pressure in the oral cavity. By the same token, [ə] is not excluded from the vowels that can form open syllables, because a schwa can be pronounced with the tip of the tongue higher than any other vowels, thus never decreasing the air pressure as drastically as other lower vowels. Therefore, the schwa has an ability to maintain the air pressure in the oral cavity and it is allowed to form open syllables, whereas the lax vowels tend to decrease the air pressure in the oral cavity and therefore are excluded as not being desirable in forming open syllables at the end of words.

Ladefoged also mentions that lax vowels are shorter than tense vowels, and this seems to stand to reason if the pronunciation of them is considered from the point of air pressure in the oral cavity. If these lax vowels do not create enough air pressure in pronouncing them, shorter duration in pronouncing them will work better toward the preservation of the air pressure in the oral cavity that might be weakened by longer duration in pronunciation, which may make the preservation of air pressure, or the creation of it after the weakened air pressure, slightly more difficult.

If exlcusion, as explained above, is reflected in the manner in which the vowels at the end of the words are arranged, it seems to be a reasonable assumption that any sound that comes at the end of the word and decreases the air pressure in the oral cavity should be prevented from occurring at the end of the word. This should be applied to the consonants of English as well. Examination of the distribution of the English consonants proves this to be the case.

However, most of the English consonants require some obstruction of air; therefore, they meet the requirement of air pressure consciousness of the speaker. There is one consonant, though, that does not require a closing of the lips, nor a raising of the tongue to seriously obstruct the coming airstream from the vocal tract. This rare consonant is [h]. The search for the [h] in a final position shows zero distribution in this place. Therefore, this seems to be best explained as the phenomenon of air pressure consciousness at work among English speakers.

If such strong consciousness of air pressure in speech sound production is reflected in the manner in which English words end, it is again quite reasonable to assume that the same reflection should also be found in the manner in which English words deal with the initial sound or sounds of a word. This prediction is not entirely without support, and the point may be best explained by a brief discussion of the ways in which English consonants and vowels are produced.

Consonants are produced by some obstruction of the airstream in the oral cavity. As consonsants constitute the majority of the English speech sounds, many more words start with consonants than with vowels. A word with a consonant at the beginning of it does not cause any trouble as regards the pressure of the air in its pronunciation. In case of a vowel in the initial position of a word, the matter is somewhat different, because no lip closing occurs and the air in the oral tract flows out of the oral cavity with least obstruction. When one's breath runs out of the oral cavity without any obstruction, it becomes very difficult to maintain high air pressure in the oral cavity. When two vowels appear in a consecutive series in conversation, the amount of the air that flows out of the oral cavity and subsequent lowering of the air pressure in the oral cavity can be quite strong. Therefore, if the speaker considers the preservation of air pressure in the oral cavity as some property of linguistically high priority, the generous airflow in pronouncing two vowels in a consecutive series has to be prevented one way or another. Here, some device can be found in the manner the English speaking people follow some linguistic rule. In the following is a set of English nouns with grammatically correct articles placed in front of them.

(1) a tree, a flower, a river, a cat, a pig, a monkey, a girl.
(2) an egg, an apple, an organge, an eagle, an American.

What this grammatical mandate forbids is such a comination as

(3) a egg, a apple, a orange, a eagle, a American

One reason for this may be found in the degree of priority the English speaker feels in maintaining high air pressure in the oral cavity: combinations of vowels in such words as "a apple, a orange, etc." require the pronunciation of two consecutive vowels and unobstructed air flow of some duration equal to the length of the two vowels combined. The result would be a drastic decrease of the air pressure in the oral cavity.

As "an" came from "one" in Old English, the presence of [n] here may not be a conscious selection, yet as the form, "an tree, an pig, etc." is not the final reduction from "one tree, one pig, etc." some reason must have interfered in the simplification of "one" into two distinct forms of the indefinite article; that is, into "an" or into "a". In a natural situation simplicity may be preferred provided that function sees no damage in simplification. Therefore, if, although only if, simplicity was the highest priority among the reasons for the reduction of "one" to "an" and "a", either one of the forms given below might have been the most natural result of the reduction:

(1) a tree, a egg, a flower, a apple, a cat, a orange, a American
or
(2) an tree, an egg, an flower, an apple, an cat, an Englishman.

As this is not the case, the present forms can be said to be a complication of the old form that utilized a single pattern: "one tree, one apple, one pig, one orange, etc.".

All the nouns listed above can take the definite article "the", yet the pronunciation of this article differs according to the quality of the sound immediately following. When followed by a consonant, it is [ðə] and when a vowel it is [ði]. The raising of the tongue before the vowel sound in producing [ði] seems to be consistent with the high consciousness of air pressure in the oral cavity. As with [n] in "an", [i] pronounced before a vowel instead of a relaxed schwa [ə] seems to work better to sustain air pressure by narrowing the space in the oral cavity by its lifted tongue position.

If two consecutive vowels are banned from the desired combination of English speech sounds by one facet of grammatical inhibitions, it will be of some value to see if this phonological exclusion has cast any restriction on this vocalic combination in some additional environments available in the English language. English, unlike Japanese that allows double or even triple or greater vocalic combinations, does not favor the combination of two vowels in consecutive series within a word. What comes close to this combination can be found in what is classified as diphthongs in English. An examination of one quality of dipthongs can provide some additional insight into the manner in which a combination of vowels (which might be a double vocalic construction in other languages) is treated in English.

Ladefoged cites six dipthongs and explains them.[9] These six dipthongs are; [aɪ, eɪ, ɔɪ, aʊ, ʊo, ju]. As the dipthongs involve a change in quality within one vowel, and the change can be described as a movement from one vowel to another, the direction of the movement can be graphed as in Figure 6.

A reordering of the six dipthongs from the order Ladefoged cites according to the proximity of the last vowel can show the direction of the movement within the vowel: that is, [aɪ, eɪ, ɔɪ, aʊ, oʊ, ju]. All the last vowels in these six dipthongs are high vowels which are equally distributed in a set of three between the front and back vowels. Therefore, all the arrows showing the direction of the movement in figure 6 except one, are upward, which means narrowing

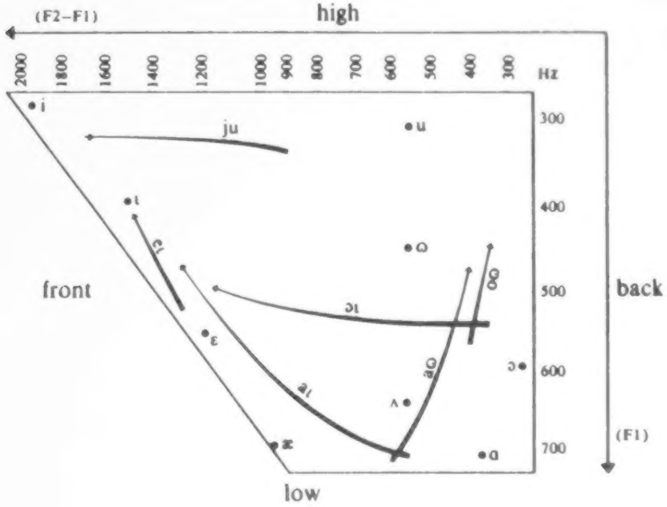


Figure 6 The relative auditory qualities of some of the vowels of American English

the space of the oral cavity. Consequently, the pronunciation of any of these diphthongs builds up pressure toward the end of the sound. One exception seems to be [ju], for the arrow seems to show a downward direction. In pronouncing [ju], however, one can find the direction of the movement from [i] to [u] tends to build more pressure than the reverse movement; that is from [u] to [i]. One reason for this may be found in a possibility that the oral cavity is more narrowed and constricted toward the last vowel in the former case.

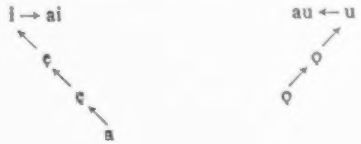
This quality of diphthongs in English is one of the signs of air pressure consciousness because diphthongs are composed in such a manner as to preserve some air pressure toward the end of the sounds. By the same token, a possible support can be derived from the fact that a diphtongal construction that results in the reverse movement of the vowels is not found as such. In other words, there are no English diphthongs whose movements of the arrows in the graph can be downward, which would be described as [ɩa , ɩɛ , ɩɔ , ʊa, ʊo , uj]. These diphthongs, if they existed, would necessitate a greater opening of the mouth toward the end of the sound, thus decreasing the air pressure in the oral cavity. Such a quality of diphthongs should go against the intuitive perception and requirement of sustained air pressure in the oral cavity among the English speaking people.

In discussing the movement of the vocalic sounds and diphthongs, it should be noted that the present English vowels have not always been in the English words as they are today. Regarding the history of the vocalic movements known as the Great Vowel Shift, Albert C. Baugh has the following explanation to give as quoted in Figure 7.[10]

The diagram given by the author shows that the direction of the changes of the long vowels is only upward. If this is the case, all the changes found in the Great Vowel Shift only increase the air pressure in pronouncing the words containing them. If so, the English speaking people have been trying to lift their vowels toward the high vowels and the efforts have been continued generation after generation, covering many centuries.

The discussion in this paper is presented to point out that those learning English as a second language should realize that there is among English speaking people such a phenomenon as air pressure consciousness in the production of speech sounds. A similar consciousness is not seen in Japanese to any comparable degree. Therefore, in the future, study and research should be more vigorously conducted in comparing the two languages, English and Japanese, in terms of the air pressure involved in the production of their respective speech sounds.

> **The Great Vowel Shift.** The situation is very different when we consider the long vowels. In Chaucer's pronunciation these had still their so-called 'continental' value,—i.e., *a* was pronounced like the *a* in *father* and not as in *name*, *e* was pronounced either like the *e* in *there* or the *a* in *mate*, but not like the *ee* in *meet*, and so with the other vowels. But in the fifteenth century a great change is seen to be under way. All the long vowels gradually came to be pronounced with a greater elevation of the tongue and closing of the mouth, so that those that could be raised (*a*, *ę*, *ẹ*, *ǫ*, *ọ*) were raised, and those that could not without becoming consonantal (*i*, *u*) became diphthongs. The change may be visualized in the following diagram:



> Such a diagram must be taken as only a very rough indication of what happened, especially in the breaking of *i* and *u* into the diphthongs *ai* and *au*. Nor must the changes indicated by the arrows be thought of as taking place successively, but rather as all part of a general movement with slight differences in the speed with which the results were accomplished (or the date at which evidence for them can be found).

Figure 7

NOTES

[1] Peter Ladefoged, *A Course in Phonetics* (New York: Harcourt, 1975), p. 6.

[2] Tsuyoshi Yagi and Mitsuyasu Goto, *Somerset Maugham-4* (Tokyo: Nanundo, 1959), p. 1-6.

[3] V. Y. Plotkin, *The Dynamics of the English Phonological System* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), p. 74.

[4] Ladefoged. p. 219.

[5] Ladefoged. p. 220.

[6] Daniel Jones, *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1943), p. 224.

[7] Ladefoged. p. 33–4.

[8] Ladefoged, p. 74.

[9] Ladefoged. p. 70–1.

[10] Albert C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 238.

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IMPROMPTU SPEAKING AS A TOOL TO IMPROVE NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS' FLUENCY IN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

Impromptu speaking can aid advanced ESL students in their confidence in formal speaking situations while improving their general ability to communicate on all levels. The impromptu speaking activity discussed here teaches the students to focus their speaking and listening skills as well as teaching them how to organise their ideas in a logical fashion. The reasons for teaching formal speaking procedures are discussed in addition to suggestions on how to organise an impromptu speaking lesson. Examples of topics and speech frameworks are given along with suggested preliminary exercises to help the student understand the mechanisms of an impromptu speech. A suggested critique sheet is also outlined and explained. this helps students organise both speech development and listening comprehension. In addition, some of the most common formal speaking difficulties are discussed and different solutions are suggested. Finally, the improvements expected from this speaking exercise are outlined.

Impromptu speaking is a much neglected tool to aid the advanced second language speaker in skills such as thought organisation and development. It improves the student's ability to communicate effectively on all levels and generates poise and confidence. Such a speaking activity can also expand functional vocabulary and provide increasing opportunities for vocabulary use. Above all, impromptu speaking is a technique for improving command of spoken English and listening comprehension and, therefore its principal objectives are fluent and accurate speaking skills.

WHAT IS IMPROMPTU SPEAKING?

Impromptu speaking is a relatively simple formal speaking exercise of a limited duration of time and with limited formal preparation.

WHY TEACH A FORMAL SPEAKING TECHNIQUE?

While students create sequential statements effortlessly in their native language and even in English conversation, they often feel inhibited in speaking English in a formal circumstance. The aim of any of the formal speaking techniques such as extemporaneous speaking, oratory or debate, is not only to teach English communication but also to teach the students to develop their thoughts logically and to deliver these thoughts in a clear and concise way. Surprisingly enough, though students attempting this exercise are already advanced, for many it will be the first time they have actually given a "formal yet unprepared" speech in English. Such speaking exercises teach the student the difference between formal and conversational English. They encourage the development of an extensive and appropriate vocabulary and they develop culturally appropriate use of gesture and body language as well as teaching students to think and speak in an organised and logical manner.

HOW TO ORGANISE AN IMPROMPTU SPEAKING LESSON

First, the teacher must explain what impromptu speaking is and then outline the speaking procedure, i.e. establish the rules. The rules are briefly, as follows: a student is given the choice of two topics which have not been seen previously. The student has thirty seconds to choose a topic. Then, one, two or three minutes should be allowed for the thinking and writing that constitutes the preparation. The optimum preparation time is one minute (three minutes is for very slow students). The choice of time is at the teacher's discretion.

Impromptu is disarming in its seeming simplicity. It is difficult enough for a native speaker to give a unified and logically developed talk on a topic of consequence. Second language speakers therefore, need to be concise, methodical and prepared. Students should use the preparation time to make a sketchy, yet functional, outline of the speech they intend to deliver.

The objective then, is to train the students so they can select and organise a topic in the otpimum 1.30 minutes (thirty seconds selection, one minute preparation) so they can then deliver a well organised, interesting speech for at least two minutes. It should be considered an equal problem (organisational or otherwise) if the student speaks either under or over time. Maintaining these rules is important if the overall objectives are to be reached.

The teacher will have to determine which organisational technique is best in selecting the topics. Since each student gets the choice of two topics they can either all have the choice of the same two topics and the remaining speakers wait outside the room or a number of topics can be put in a "hat" and each student selects two. This latter process is perhaps better in the initial stages since then all students participate in both the speaking and the listening comprehension exercises.

TIMEKEEPING

The timekeeper should have time cards which begin with 3 minutes and go backwards to ½ minute and STOP. The speaker can stop anytime after the 1 minute card is shown since he/she would then have spoken the required minimum of two minutes (3 minutes is the maximum limit).

Timing is important because it pressures the students to be precise, to keep to the point and to see the necessity of order in their speeches if they are to say everything they wish to say. Timing also gives the students a sense of logical order and as they become better able to deliver speeches it provides them with a system to measure their own progress.

EXAMPLES OF TYPES OF IMPROMPTU SPEAKING TOPICS

Impromptu speaking has a number of types of topics which can be used sequentially or together:

1. The "simple" one word topic; e.g. Money, Racism, Euthenasia
2. The fill in the black conditional; e.g.

   If I were a millionaire I would ________ . or
   If I could change the world I would __________ .

3. The straight-forward fill in the black; e.g.
   The biggest problem in the world today is ________. or
   The greatest evil in society is __________.

4. Sayings and quotations; these are perhaps the most difficult topics to deal with and for that reason should be left until the class is familiar with the speaking technique and the timing confines; e.g.

   "A penny saved is a penny earned" or
   "The pen is mightier than the sword".

The teacher may find it necessary to define some terms (and the smart student may well use the definition in his/her speech). It is, however, important that the teacher carefully select the topics because these speaking skills are best developed through a range of topics which are of universal interest and concern.

SUGGESTED IMPROMPTU SPEAKING SPEECH FORMATS AND EXAMPLES

Certain speeches lend themselves to a chronological/sequential development. This is particularly true of the one word topics. If the student is familiar with history or geography he/she can use this overall system to give the speech structure. For example with the topic "money" a student might choose to discuss money through the ages progressing from barter to the cheques of today and the international money situation or sequentially, the student may choose to discuss the types of money forms in different countries or a combination of both.

A second speech format which the student can learn to adapt quickly and effectively to impromptu speaking is the compare/contrast method. This technique presents both sides to a question and is best used if the student feels that by discussing only one aspect of a question he/she will still be under time. Even though the speaking minimum is only two minutes, thinking of a number of logically connected supporting facts can be difficult. If the student can be trained to focus on the acquisition of ideas this will be helpful in all other aspects of his/her English. For example: "Money"

Good	Bad
life style	takes the challenge away
business	can't guarantee success
travel	doesn't buy health/friends

If the subject area is broad, dividing the topic will help and this gives a clearer framework for idea organisation.

The third method is the expository type of speech format. The main idea might be expressed as a general statement and then specific, concrete details clarify and develop the ideas. Details may be organised in the form of facts of all types, examples or reasons. For an example see (fig. 1) which uses the expository format while demonstrating how to organise the preparation card.

PREPARATORY EXERCISES

All of the above may sound a little overwhelming at first. There are, however, a number of exercises that can be introduced before the teacher actually launches the students into the speaking exercise itself. Such exercises help students organise their thoughts and provide "source" material for immediate recall. One exercise that has proved successful is to train the students to draw on their own life/work experience. All fields of student activity can be explored from mathematics to economics and translated titles of native language texts. Moreover, since examples are often difficult to produce when students only have a minute or so for preparation it's necessary that they develop techniques which enable them to produce supporting details with minimum time.

Such an exercise, entitled "speed thinking", was developed to aid the above recall process. Put three major subject headings on the board; for example, films, books, music and then in seven (?) minutes have the students list as many titles under each heading as they can. Exercise two is another 5-7 minute exercise that follows immediately. Have the students list as many associated ideas as they can for the individual titles. For example, with the title *Hamlet* students might write: madness, love, circumstance etc. Follow this exercise by having individual students read out their lists. This provides other students with additional ideas. Repeat these exercises over a number of days and include some of the same topics each time. Exercise three is integrated into the above and is used to expand the student's active vocabulary. Once the most commonly developed categories (i.e. student preference) have been determined e.g. economics, science, literature, the teacher should prepare vocabulary lists in the related areas in addition to eliciting vocabulary from the students. It is amazing how advanced some students are in areas in which they are interested. Moreover since the areas where vocabulary lists have been developed stem from subject areas of student interest new words will be learned quickly. This vocabulary will be acquired both through the speaking and listening comprehension exercises that follow.

HOW TO ORGANISE AN IMPROMPTU SPEECH

Introduction: The students must understand the necessity of an outstanding introduction. The aim of the introduction is to arouse interest and to convince an audience that the speech is worth listening to. If an audience is lost in the introduction it is never regained. A number of alternatives the student might choose in developing a strong introduction are:

(a) State speaker intention e.g. "I wish to explain exactly why the *pollution* (topic) situation in this city is intolerable!"
(b) Ask a rhetorical question which sets the theme by implication e.g. "I ask you, is the *pollution* situation in this city sufferable?"
(c) Outline the theme or problem in point form.

These are just a few suggestions; there are many ways the students can open their speech topics. Other methods include stories, quotations, personal experiences, a definition of terms or even a rewording and emphatic delivery of the topic sentence (question). Whichever method the student chooses, the theme must be clearly stated and the topic clearly outlined.

Body

Once the student understands the necessity of capturing the audience's attention at the outset he/she must then have enough material on the preparation card (see fig. 1) to carry him/her through the speech. Using the journalistic technique of answering the how, when, where, why questions is an invaluable asset to aid student idea organisation and development. In this way points can be logically linked, one to another, in support of the student's overall premise. So, for example, if the topic is 'money' the student could first draw on the "speed thinking" exercises and could refer to Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice" or the last class English reader or a recent newspaper article on inflation (the source doesn't have to be an English language newspaper) or an economic text. If this exercise fails then the student can use the journalistic approach. All such ideas provide "meat" (evidence) to support the premise and to develop the body of the speech.

Conclusion

This part of the speech is naturally very important and there are a number of ways to teach the students how to handle it. As with the other sections these recommendations are far from complete and are only suggested as a guide to the introduction of formal speaking as a valid and worthwhile activity for the ESL classroom.

If time is pressing, a simple and effective method is to restate the original premise of the introduction. A second method is to restate each major point made through the body of the speech (see fig. 1) drawing to a concluding statement. A third method is to end with a quotation or reference. This does not have to be exact or very complex; for example, if the topic were "freedom" a student might recall the reader (novel) *Call of the Wild* by Jack London and say "In concluding I'd like to refer to Jack London's famous book, *Call of the Wild*, which emphasises my point that freedom and life are synonymous." The student may equally prefer to end with another story, statistic or fact. Once a student has made a conclusion he/she should pause a moment to say thank you and then sit down.

The Critique Sheet (fig. 2)

This sheet is an invaluable tool to measure both speaking confidence and listening comprehension. The categories listed are only suggestions and teachers may wish to delete some and add others. The items listed are provided to determine the critiquer's overall reaction to the speech. The major learning importance of the critique sheet is the notetaking section at the bottom. This provides both feedback to the speaker on how well his delivery was organised and a check on how well the listener understood the delivery. The score marking also indicates just how impressed with each category the listener was and emphasises the areas in which the speaker needs to improve most.

The teacher should provide each student with a critique sheet for each of the speakers. The categories and use of the sheet must be explained in detail. This is best achieved if the critique categories are related to the speech preparation outline (refer fig. 1) previously taught. The aim is to teach speakers to give a logically developed speech and to have notetakers be able to comprehend the speech and take down the essential points on paper. The critique sheet can help students do this if the speech is clear and logical and the ideas are separated by previously taught "clue" transition words (for example, following, then, in addition etc.). These sheets also provide the listener with a source of material from which to ask information questions at the end of the speech. The teacher should collect these sheets and note how much each student understood of what was said. It is important that the speaker get the critique sheets as soon as possible. By comparing them with his/her own preparation outline he/she can determine how well the speech was delivered. The teacher should always use the time immediately after each speech for constructive criticism and discussion. Peer support can be utilised as an effective aid in evaluating and analysing speaking content, style and manner. As a follow-up exercise the teacher can ask each student to write an outline of one of the four or five speeches they heard. Students should base this exercise on one of their critique sheets. In this way the teacher can use writing to consolidate the oral-aural work.

SPEAKING PROBLEMS AND SOME SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

Generally the first hurdle is the student response "I can't" or "I don't know where to begin". In this situation coaxing and exploiting the use of the "wh" questions to structure a speech can help.

If a student suffers from "stage fright" there are a number of ways to assist. Never let the student stand "alone" for a long period of time. When a student feels that he/she cannot continue have him/her sit (but still at the front of the class).

Sitting immediately removes the formality of the situation. Utilise whatever information the student has already given to field questions to the class. Elicit further questions from the class to the speaker. Often in the more relaxed discussion format the speaker will contribute additional information. This process takes time but ultimately the student/speaker will overcome and speaking confidence will increase.

Another method to relieve student tension is to draw attention away from content and organisation to the equally important, yet less difficult to master, stance and body language. Humour is often a valuable asset here. Point out crossed legs/arms, chewing gum, the awkwardness of arms/hands etc., while helping the students feel they are working well with the other aspects of speaking.

In impromptu speaking, in particular, speakers will often draw a "blank" with relatively simple vocabulary and grammar points. The problem is not the blank, because the student knows the word very well "it is on the tip of my tongue" they say, the problem is convincing the student to go around the "exact" word. One of the great assets of impromptu speaking is that speakers learn to adapt to that awkward, but frequent, moment when the non-native speaker can't find the "right" word.

Another common speaking problem is the "bullet speaker". Some students feel that the faster they talk the faster they'll finish and naturally they are right! It is wise to let the first such talk be completed in this manner but thereafter it is better to interrupt. The student will invariably be under time and will learn in the discussion period that follows that his/her peers understood little or nothing of the speech. Often the student is simply not aware how fast he/she is speaking and a tactful interruption will result in a more focused delivery.

It is important to be aware that many speakers will be totally unaware of particular habits they have when speaking; e.g. leaning on the front table, tapping the pencil they forgot to put down, umms and ahs or speaking too quickly. Most of these problems can be handled by pointing them out when they occur or soon after. Students will soon become aware of their own idiosyncracies.

WAYS TO INCREASE STUDENT INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION

Always ask the most confident students to give the first set of speeches. Others will see that the task is less formidable than they had thought and they will be more prepared to accept the assignment when it is their turn.

Emphasise the students' conversational ability. After all, the major aspects of conversation dynamics is the building of one statement on another. Formal speaking is being able to build such sentences quickly and confidently in an organised and developed manner. Emphasize the fact that well chosen impromptu topics have relevance to the students and to contemporary life. This heightens student-interest, expands their horizons and most importantly enables them to express cogent, personal opinions which are supported by facts.

EXPECTED RESULTS

1. Students will acquire the ability to organise and confidently deliver thoughts in English.
2. Students develop the ability to distinguish between main and supporting ideas, to detect implications, interpret facts and reach conclusions.
3. Impromptu speaking provides skills that go beyond merely speaking with accuracy. These skills include an extensive and appropriate vocabulary which develops as the speaker grows more confident.
4. Students will learn to determine relevant information and to recall facts when necessary. They will also develop a sense of the need for oganisation.
5. Impromptu speaking develops the appropriate use of facial gesture and body language as well as developing other non-technical language aspects such as cross-culture awareness and socio-linguistically appropriate usage.
6. Writing should improve in organisation while at the same time writing reinforces and expands the patterns acquired in speaking and listening.

FIGURE 1

IMPROMPTU
A Sample Preparation Card

This is a suggested outline only. It is much larger than one that students would normally have time to prepare. Any one of the A, B, or C divisions would normally be enough to provide a good speech. Where, when, who, why, etc are idea developers only and are by no means compulsory.

The left hand column indicates divisions a student might use. The choice of "wh" words has been arbitrary. The right hand column is an approximation of what a student's outline might look like.

Topic: "money" Premise: not good

Introduction : Where, when, why questions etc.	Quote: The Bible says money is the root of all evil where: Government, Business, Personal
Body :	*A. Government* 1. increase tax
Where	*result*: less money for poor, education, arts
example	*Example*: Regan/Thatcher/EEC
how	2. Increase spending on defense *result*: wars
example	*Example*: Middle East/Africa
who	*B. Business* Multinational industries exploit
example	*Example*: ITT/Chile, BP South Africa
	2. Money leads to greed in business *Example*: T.V. show Dallas and J.R.
	C. Personal
examples	1. Story – mother's purse 2. Story – results in change in personality
Conclusions:	Therefore Because of A, B, and C money is . . . OR Because of the previously mentioned points I would like to recall the opening quote and state emphatically that "money is . . . .

N.B. Students will normally abreviate.

FIGURE 2

IMPROMPTU CRITIQUE SHEET

Speakers Name: ____________________________

Critiquers Name: ____________________________

Indicate a value for each category using the following scale:
+ for above average, 0 for average, and — for needs improvment.

		Score
1.	Adequate introduction which catches attention and arouses interest	____
2.	Clarity in Expression of Thought:	
	a. Adequate statement of problem or idea	____
	b. Effective elaboration of the idea	____
3.	Effectiveness in Speech Construction: Continuity of thought through unity, coherence, clearness, force, and attractiveness	____
4.	Delivery:	
	a. Poise, physical gesture	____
	b. Force, fluency, enunciation, and projection	____

Time: ________

Notes:
Introduction:

Body:

Conclusion:

IMPROVING READING SPEED IN READERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

Sixty-two students from two sections of Freshman English at a liberal arts college in northern Japan were pretested, trained, and post-tested in an experiment employing two methods to improve reading speed: traditional paper exercises and a reading machine (projector). Scores for the experimental group increased significantly more ($p < .05$) than for the control group. Student reactions are also reported.

One of the problems common to students of English as a foreign or second language is that of the need to increase their reading speed. The habit of concentrating on individual words and expressions in order to grasp their meaning has kept many students from improving their overall ability to assimilate sentences at a rapid pace. They may have, so to speak, "missed the forest for the trees".

Exercises for increasing reading speed have typically consisted of short, timed reading selections followed by a series of questions regarding their content. The allotted reading time is reduced progressively to encourage faster reading. According to some reports, such exercises in the second language can even have beneficial effects in the native language (Bright and McGregor, 1970 p. 96). However, depending upon the maturity of the student, such exercises may do nothing more than to increase tension and thus do little to help the student pace his or her reading in a systematic manner.

For some years, reading machines have been used in American high schools and colleges for remedial reading as well as to increase reading speed for normal readers. These machines project one line of script on a screen at timed intervals using 35mm film strips. The intervals can be shortened or lengthened by turning a dial to the desired speed. If such machines can be used with positive results for readers in their native language, might they not also be effective for readers of English as a second language? It was with the intention of testing this assumption that the experiment described here was conducted.

METHOD

Students from two sections of Freshman English at a liberal arts college in northern Japan were presented, trained, and post-trained as described below. Sections are formed upon entrance to the college by dividing registrants alphabetically; about 50 in each section. Students who missed more than one session were not included in the data for this experiment. All materials used were taken from Tiersch-Allen, "Classics in Therapeutic Readability for Contained Reading", 1979. A schedule for their use was set up and followed as indicated in Table 1. All reading selections were approximately 150 lines in length.

Pretest

To acquaint the students with the materials and procedure, both sections were given a mimeographed chapter (approximately 150 lines) from Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* (Tiersch-Allen, ed.) and a test sheet. At a signal from the instructor they studied the story page for 10 minutes at which time they were told to stop and turn their papers over. Then they completed the test during the next 6 minutes. The tests throughout the experiment consisted of 10 multiple choice questions (4 choices each). Students were not permitted to refer to the story while taking the test.

One week later, each section was given eight minutes to read a second chapter and five minutes to complete the test. Immediately following, they were given three minutes to read a third chapter and three minutes to complete the test. This exercise was used to determine the "speed of potential" (Pugh, 177). The results of this test were later used as the base scores for the experiment.

Training

From this point on, the two groups received different treatment over a period of six weeks. The experimental group was exposed to increased reading speeds through the use of the projector. Using a 500 watt A/V Concepts projector with variable speed control, the instructor projected filmstrips on to a large screen. Only one line was visible at one time. Chapter One of the story (*The Time Machine*) was projected at 14 lines per minute (75 wpm) and increased weekly until 40 lines per minute (220 wpm) were projected in the last session. Following each chapter, students were asked to complete the multiple-choice test paper which they had received just prior to seeing the film. The times for the tests were reduced gradually from 4 minutes to 2 minutes-forty seconds.

The control group utilized the same materials in mimeographed form. The time limits were calculated from the lines-per-minute figure used for the projector. Test times were the same as for the experimental group.

Both groups were informed periodically of the progress they were making in terms of lines-per-minute, but were not told that they were participating in an experiment.

Post-test

Following completion of the last chapter of *The Time Machine*, both sections were given a final reading exercise from *The Red Badge of Courage*, in mimeographed form. The time limit for this last exercise was three minutes for reading and two minutes forty seconds for the test. These scores were used for comparison with the pretest scores.

Table 1. Testing/Training Schedule*

	Pretest			Training										Post-test
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	4
Reading (minutes)	10	8	3	9	8	7	5	6	5	4.5	4.3	3.8	3.8	3
Testing (minutes)	6	5	3	4	4	3.5	3	3	3	3	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
Session Number	1	2		3		4		5	6		7			8

*Reading selections were approximately 150 lines in length.

RESULTS

Thirty-one students from each group were matched on the basis of their pretest scores. These scores were then compared with the score achieved on the post-test. In the pretest, scores ranged from 0 to 8 (mean 3.48). In the post-test, scores ranged from 2 to 7 for the control group and 3 to 9 for the experimental group. See Table 2. Interestingly, the standard deviation for both groups was the same for the post-test even though the means were different.

The t-test for related measures was used to test for differences between the 2 groups. This two-tailed test resulted in a t score of 2.26, and thus indicated that the experimental group achieved significantly higher scores than the control group ($p < .05$).

DISCUSSION

The results of this experiment lend support for the use of a speed-reading machine in increasing reading speed for readers of English as a second language. Assuming that the tests for the materials used here were, in fact, legitimate measures of content comprehension, it is hard to account for the differences in the two groups in any other way.

Table 2. Pretest/Post-test scores

		Pretest	Post-test
Control	mn	3.48	4.77
	s.d.	1.63	1.56
Experimental	mn	3.48	5.68
	s.d.	1.63	1.56

Maddox, in his well-known book *How to Study*, says "Mechanical devices are . . . in no way superior to the method of timed practice . . . , at least for mature students." (p. 85). There are those who disparage the use of "mechanical devices" and "gimmicks" of any kind in teaching students to improve reading speed because it is the gimmick that stimulates interest and not the practice itself (Bright and McGregor, p. 96). While overdependence upon machines may be detrimental to sound pedagogy, one would be hard put to show that the motivation lies in the machine and not in the method. Even if it were possible, many a teacher would be willing to try anything if it provided motivation!

This type of mechanical training may be particularly useful to students for whom their native language requires vertical tracking. By mechanically delimiting the field of vision, this method provides a means to train students to concentrate on horizontal symbols in a paced and orderly manner.

One obvious drawback to this type of training is lack of attention to individual differences. Some students may be slowed down by the process; others may be pushed beyond their capabilities. The projector, however, can be used for groups of any size up to 50 or so and, therefore, its effectiveness will depend upon the way it is used.

Available time was limited in this experiment to the first 20 minutes of a 90-minute class that met only once a week. From the results obtained here, it seems likely that more intensive training would lead to even greater accomplishments. Such intensive training might consist of increased frequency of exposure either in number of times per week or in number of viewings per session as well as in class discussions regarding content of stories. In addition, prolonged exposure over a period of time would help to consolidate the learning progress of the students.

How did the students themselves feel about the use of this method? One week following the experiment, the experimental group was asked to complete a six-item questionnaire regarding the method and its effectiveness. They were asked to respond on a five point scale to the following statements:

1. Comprehension improved: yes - - - no
2. Speed of presentation was: too slow - - - too fast
3. Alotted time was adequate: no - - - yes
4. Method was appropriate: yes - - - no
5. Prefer to continue: yes - - - no
6. Speed-reading ability improved: yes - - - no

Results for the six items were as follows:

	Mean	*s.d.*	*Mode*
1. Comprehension	3.2	1.29	3
2. Speed	4.4	.78	5
3. Allotted time	2.3	1.34	1
4. Appropriateness	1.88	.99	1
5. Continue	2.11	1.33	1
6. Improvement	2.86	1.32	2,4

While students (naturally) felt that the speed of the exercises was too fast (Item 2) and that their comprehension did not improve much (Item 1), they nevertheless felt that the method was appropriate (Item 4), and would not mind continuing the training (Item 5). Moreover, some students indicated privately an interest in continuing this type of training on their own time. One student felt it was especially helpful in her preparation for the TOEFL examination. However, one student complained of difficulty in seeing the projected image clearly.

CONCLUSION

While this method may not be the complete answer to improving reading speed, it does appear that judicious use of a reading projector can be beneficial for college-level students. Used in combination with other types of exercises, this method may provide the extra stimulation necessary to challenge students to read faster. Further attempts to discover an optimum pattern for utilizing a reading machine could bring quite beneficial results.

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THE EFFECTS OF DIRECT AND HEURISTIC CORRECTION ON FIRST YEAR LEVEL COLLEGE COMPOSITIONS

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ABSTRACT

Many experienced teachers of EFL composition have found that withholding specific information about errors in general is a sound technique. Yet, a review of the literature shows that there is no concensus about the kinds of errors that should be left up to the learner to edit and those errors which are best dealt with by the instructor. This study attempts to estimate the efficiency of a direct correction approach compared with a discovery method which requires the learners to edit their own papers with a minimum of guidance from the instructor. Frequencies of particular types of errors were calculated and a comparison was made between group membership and subsequent numbers of individuals making errors in each error category above or below the total mean. This information provides a general index to the types of mistakes that proved to be correctable and those that were not, thus suggesting a heirarchy for direct as opposed to heuristic feedback.

The effect of feedback is thought to be essential in the initial stages of second language learning. Most teachers assume that some sort of correction is necessary, whether it is in the form of overt detailed explanation or heuristic form of feedback which forces the learner to reformulate his existing hypotheses about the problem in question.

Yet, a review of the literature reveals that there is no concensus about the optimal form feedback should take, or even what should or should not be corrected.

A number of researchers in second language learning endorse an approach to feedback which will assist adult learners to apply conscious rules in production. This is especially important in written performance of foreign language skills. Krashen and Selinker (1975, 181) suggest that overt feedback to adults can help them learn to find the environment in which they can apply the passive knowledge they may already possess. Along the same line, Kulhavy (1977, 224) considers feedback on written performance to be optimal only if the original mistakes are the result of faulty interpretation or performance and not because of a basic lack of comprehension or competence.

One common approach to error correction is based on the belief that not all errors are of equal importance. Hendrickson (1978, 396) believes that error correction techniques should be focused on the cognitive dimension of the learner's ability to process the feedback. For this reason, he suggests different approaches to feedback should be based primarily on the proficiency of the learner. Others (Hanzeli, 1975, 431, Burt and Kiparsky, 1972, 4) establish a general heirarchy of priority for corrections; errors that interfere with meaning and clear interpretation should receive immediate priority. Other types of errors, 'local' errors in Burt and Kiparsky's classification, receive secondary attention.

Most researchers and teachers agree that feedback is essential in improving composition skills. The most common approach endorsed seems to be based on some form of self-correction. Corder (1967, 167) proposed a discovery approach whereby learners are given clues about the errors they make. It is thought that this type of feedback helps the learners to make inferences and generalization about the errors they have made. A stronger version of this self-correction approach predicts that error patterns will not change with only teacher generated feedback. Rivers and Temperly (1978, 323) and Cohen (1975, 419) suggest an approach that appears to be based on peer editing or self-correction as opposed to teacher generated corrections.

Between the cognitive approach, which entails detailed teacher generated feedback, and an approach that relies on the learner's ability to discover errors with a minimum of guidance from the teacher is one, as Wingfield (1975, 312) has noted, that is eclectic in nature. Mistakes that appear to be the result of faulty performance, or failure to apply the 'Monitor' (Krashen, 1977, 153) are best left up to the learner to correct. Errors that are indicative of a lack of competence, i.e. syntactic or lexical errors, are best corrected by the teacher. This approach can be empirically tested to determine which categories are indeed accessable to self-correction and which errors are of particular difficulty for a given population of learners.

The study reported below was designed to estimate what differences, if any, would arise in (1) overall composition quality (2) the ability learners develop to edit their own papers, and (3) the frequencies of particular types of errors associated with placement in a direct or discovery feedback group.

Twenty-six first year students enrolled in an introductory level English composition course at Baika Junior College were randomly assigned to two groups. First year students at B.J.C. are blocked into groups, therefore this group took all other required courses together.

The Composition Correctness Score (Brodkey and Young, 1981, 160), an overall assessment of composition skills in English as a second language, was adapted as the method of deriving scores in this study. Each error is normally weighted one, two or three depending on its severity. In this study, however, particular types of errors were given a constant value in order to reduce variability. The sum of all errors in mechanics, punctuation and syntax was then divided into the total number of words written on five compositions written in class and six written at home. The papers were over two hundred words on the average.

Sample score derivation:

$$\frac{\text{total of words}}{\text{sum of weighted errors}} \quad \frac{225}{40} = 5.61$$

FEEDBACK

Feedback was given to one group (N = 13) *directly* in the form of alphabetized marks on the original compositions. On an attached sheet corrections corresponding to each letter were given in order to facilitate an at-home rewriting and editing step. All indexed errors were corrected by the instructor.

Example:

> . . . There is a cake store[A] opposite their.[B] I often go to the store to buy the[C] cake[D] there. The cake[E] of this store is[F] very delicious . . .

Index sheet:
A. bakery
B. there
C. Ø
D. cakes
E. cakes
F. are

Learners were encouraged to test their ability to recall the corrections in a second at home rewriting step. All students were given an uncorrected copy of their original compostions as a final editing task after turning in the marked original and all revisions at the beginning of the next class meeting. The photocopy editing task involved underlining mistakes and providing the appropriate corrections.

The *discovery* group (N = 13) was given feedback in the form of a color code which corresponded to a list of sample mistakes and corrections. The errors on the original papers were marked over in transparent color pencils. All errors were subsumed into a list of twenty-one colors that represents the most common types of errors first year level Japanese writers make. This group had to refer to the guide exclusively in order to correct their own errors. The at home rewriting steps and subsequent in class copy editing were also included to provide information about the efficacy of this method of correction.

Example:

Correction Code

Color	*Error Class*
vermillion	definite, indefinite or generic article
yellow	prepositions
cerulean blue	surrogate subject pronouns

RESULTS

Weekly Composition Correctness Scores on papers written in class and at home were summed and mean scores for each group were compared with the use of t tests to determine what differences evolved. Of particular importance were the in-class compositions which were written in a narrative style based on Bryne's (1967) picture composition text.

The results indicate that no significant differences between the two groups arose over the twelve week course. (Fig. 1) This finding supports Hendrickson's (1977, 393) conclusion that teacher generated correction has little short term significance, and also supports the Rivers and Temperly (1978, 323) and Cohen (1975, 419) predictions about the ineffectiveness of teacher corrections alone.

The photocopying editing task was designed to determine the facility and accuracy learners in either group might develop if they are asked to rely on their own memory or ability to apply conscious grammatical knowledge. Here again, t tests were used to measure differences between group means from week to week (Fig. 2). The results indicate that the direct feedback group could establish a significantly higher percent of accurate identification and correction of errors in this task. Unfortunately, this recall skill apparently did not seem to carry over to either at-home or in-class writing, suggesting that they could 'cram' before the editing task to get a high score. Learners in the discovery group were, of course, limited to correction errors which were the result of surface level performance slips. Other more fundamental errors were frequently supplanted by equally erroneous attempts in the editing task.

The overall comparison of group means and comparisons of the editing task means reveal that short term changes cannot be expected with either method of correction. However, these two approaches were meant to represent the direct and discovery methods in more or less pure forms, and the results of the overall comparisons perhaps obscure whatever other discrete advantages one method may have over the other.

One other measurement was employed to estimate which kinds of errors were amenable to detection and correction by either group over the twelve weeks of the semester. In this comparison a grand mean was calculated from the fourth, ninth and eleventh compositions for the eleven most common categories of errors. Tallies were taken on the frequency of each kind of error on papers written by members of both groups. Individuals either scored lower or higher than the grand mean for all the papers written in the week in question. The Chi Square test of independence was used to determine if direct or discovery group membership is associated with frequency of error in any category. (Fig. 3)

INTERPRETATIONS

The comparison of the frequency of errors suggests that the discovery group appears to gain comparable control over certain categories of errors that are evidently accessable to conscious rule application, i.e. prepositions, object pronouns, tense and plurals. Other categories of errors appear to remain equally distributed between both groups. This finding suggests a heirarchy of the types of mistakes commonly made by a group of learners might be divisable into those which can be edited by the learners and those which are more reflective of the overall competence level of the group and might best be dealt with by the instructor.

Errors which were not readily corrected with only heuristic feedback included spelling, choice of verbs, punctuation, lexical errors and determiners. The reasoning offered here for direct teacher correction of these types of 'opaque' errors is that self-correction by the students would require considerable dictionary and reference grammar work. In light of the fact that first year EFL composition classes are characteristically very large and meet infrequently, many learners do not find the time to get individual help when they are unsure of their corrections. Conversely, those errors which can be corrected with careful self-editing might best be left up to the learner to reanalyse. This suggests that an approach to correction based on frequency and correctability will be best for different groups of learners.

FIGURE 1

Weekly comparisons of Composition Correctness Score means

Week #	*Direct*		*Discovery*	
1*	13	N	13	
	4.74	mean	4.92	t = .272 df = 24
	1.94	S.D.	1.38	
2	13		13	
	6.35		7.64	t = 2.034 df = 24
	1.55		1.68	ρ = < .10
3	13		13	
	6.94		8.90	t = 1.509 df = 24
	2.05		4.21	ρ = < .20
4*	13		13	
	6.62		7.46	t = .987 df = 24
	2.47		1.84	
5	13		13	
	5.60		5.53	t = .986 df = 24
	2.16		1.37	
6*	13		13	
	4.74		4.05	t = 1.327 df = 24
	1.61		0.96	ρ = < .20
7	13		13	
	6.82		4.75	t = 2.091 df = 24
	3.32		1.31	ρ = < .05
8	13		13	
	6.86		6.66	t = .191 df = 24
	3.01		2.25	
9*	13		12	
	5.33		6.47	t = 1.245 df = 23
	1. 63		2.87	
10	12		12	
	6.11		8.52	t = 2.260 df = 22
	1.76		3.23	ρ = < .05
11*	13		13	
	5.42		6.82	t = 1.785 df = 24
	1.37		2.48	ρ = < .10

*** Indicates compositions written in class under controlled conditions.**

FIGURE 2

Photocopy editing task score means

Week #	*Direct*		*Discovery*	
1	12	N	13	
	.754	mean	.770	t = .2212 df = 22
	.233	S.D.	.092	
2	12		12	
	.871		.806	t = 1.187 df = 22
	.150		.116	
3	12		13	
	.863		.825	t = .7470 df = 23
	.107		.143	
4	13		13	
	.869		.855	t = .1947 df = 24
	.210		.152	
5	12		12	
	.762		.793	t = .5255 df = 22
	.166		.119	
6	13		13	
	.900		.665	t = 3.779 df = 24
	.070		.213	$p = < .001$
7	11		12	
	.942		.811	t = 4.941 df = 21
	.046		.076	$p = < .001$
8	13		13	
	.935		.783	t = 4.797 df = 24
	.057		.099	$p = < .001$
9	13		13	
	.920		.862	t = 1.640 df = 24
	.094		.086	$p = < .20$

FIGURE 3

Tests of Independence

	Week 4 mean		Week 9 mean		Week 11 mean	
	Prepositions					
	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	6	7	4	9	6	7
Discovery	8	5	10	3	8	5
	χ^2 .619		χ^2 5.57***		χ^2 .619	
	Articles					
	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	6	7	8	5	6	7
Discovery	6	7	10	3	10	3
	χ^2 .000		χ^2 .722		χ^2 2.60*	
	Lexis					
	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	10	3	3	8	8	5
Discovery	8	5	5	7	5	8
	χ^2 .722		χ^2 .157		χ^2 1.38	
	Verb Choice					
	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	9	4	8	5	9	4
Discovery	7	6	9	3	10	5
	χ^2 .650		χ^2 .519		χ^2 .195	
	Punctuation					
	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	7	6	10	3	7	6
Discovery	8	5	10	3	5	8
	χ^2 .157		χ^2 .000		χ^2 .619	
	Spelling					
	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	7	6	11	2	9	4
Discovery	9	4	7	6	9	4
	χ^2 .650		χ^2 2.88**		χ^2 .000	

Tense

	Week 4			Week 9			Week 11		
	−	mean	+	−	mean	+	−	mean	+
Direct	8		5	9		4	6		7
Discovery	7		6	9		4	10		3
	χ^2 .157			χ^2 .000			χ^2 2.60*		

Object Pronouns

	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	5	8	4	9	11	2
Discovery	9	4	10	3	11	2
	χ^2 3.84***		χ^2 3.93***		χ^2 .000	

Syntax

	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	10	3	8	5	8	5
Discovery	7	6	8	5	8	5
	χ^2 1.52		χ^2 .000		χ^2 .000	

Subject-Verb Concord

	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	10	3	8	5	4	9
Discovery	12	1	6	7	6	7
	χ^2 1.18		χ^2 .619		χ^2 .650	

Plurals

	−	+	−	+	−	+
Direct	7	6	8	5	7	6
Discovery	8	5	7	6	11	2
	χ^2 .157		χ^2 .157		χ^2 2.88**	

*** indicates $\rho < .05$
** indicates $\rho < .10$
* indicates $\rho < .20$

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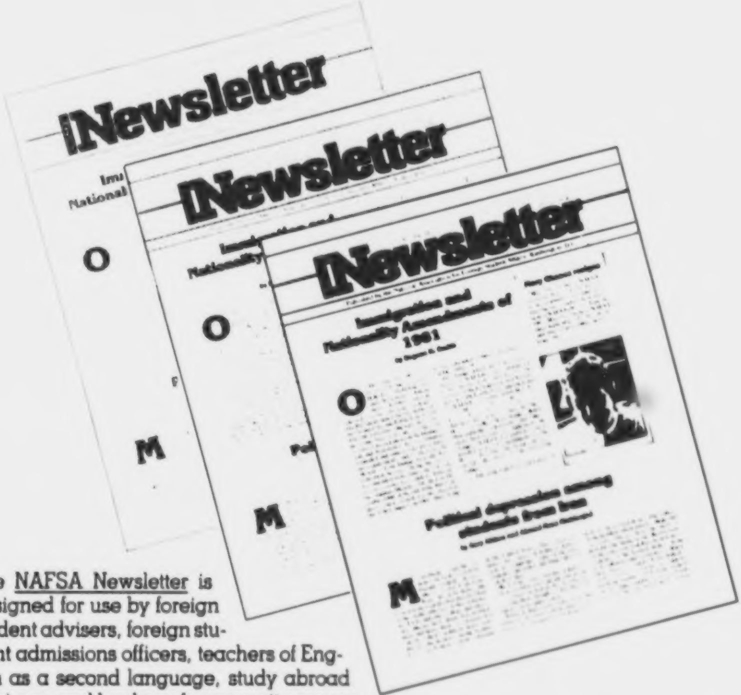

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RHETORICAL PATTERNS EXTANT IN THE ENGLISH COMPOSITIONS OF JAPANESE STUDENTS

Machiko Achiba
Yasuaki Kuromiya

Abstract

According to Robert Kaplan (1972), the expository writing of native English speakers is characterized by a linear approach and a deductive development, while writing by Orientals is characterized by a circular (indirect) approach and an inductive development. Kaplan's term "oriental" specifically refers to Chinese and Korean but not to Japanese. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate whether or not there may be any rhetorical patterns unique to native speakers of Japanese. For this purpose, 130 English compositions written by Japanese students of English as a second language were examined. Analysis of the data shows that the Japanese rhetorical pattern has both linear and circular approaches. In addition, some other compositions are presented and discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Robert Kaplan says that "rhetorical and stylistic preferences are culturally conditioned and vary from language to language" (1972: 10). According to Kaplan, in the writing of native English speakers, the flow of ideas can be characterized by a deductive development, while Oriental writing is characterized by a circular (indirect) approach and an inductive development. He states:

> The thought pattern which speakers and readers of English appear to expect as an integral part of their communication is a sequence that is dominantly linear in its development. An English expository paragraph usually begins with a topic statement, and then by a series of subdivisions of that topic statement, each supported by examples and illustrations, proceeds to develop that central idea and relate that idea to all the other ideas in the whole essay, and to employ that idea in its proper relationship with other ideas, to prove something, or perhaps to argue something. (p.3)
>
> [Oriental writing] may be said to be "turning and turning in a widening gyre." The circles or gyres turn around the subject and show it from a variety of tangential views, but the subject is never looked at directly. Things are developed in terms of what they are not, rather than in terms of what they are. (p.10)

He further states that in Oriental writing "the kind of logic considered so significant in Western analytic writing" is eliminated. (1971:53)

Although Kaplan has dealt with the Oriental rhetorical pattern, his study is limited to Chinese and Korean students; Japanese are not included, in spite of the long cultural influence on Japan by both China and Korea. Therefore, we have attempted here to explore the rhetorical patterns

---

The authors graduated from Southern Illinois University in 1981. Ms. Achiba received an M.A. in TESL and Mr. Kuromiya received an M.A. in TESL and Linguistics. Ms. Achiba teaches in the Junior College division of Tokyo Woman's Christian University and Mr. Kuromiya teaches at Kyoto Sangyo Daigaku.

and the interference problems shown in English compositions by Japanese students.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

The subjects of our study were adult intermediate and advanced Japanese students of English as a second language enrolled in the intensive English programs at the language schools of Southern Illinois University and Western Illinois University and Japanese undergraduates at Southern Illinois University. These students had received from six to ten years of formal English instruction in Japan, however, the main part of that instruction was focused on grammar, while English writing had been for the most part neglected.

First, 178 English compositions written by these subjects for their English classes were collected. Of these, 48 were not amenable to rhetorical pattern analysis as they contained too many syntactic problems. Those compositions written as personal introductions or letters were also discarded. Only those compositions which could be classified as expository prose were analyzed. Therefore, our study is based on the analysis and categorization of 130 compositions according to the five different rhetorical patterns discerned in those compositions. The five organizational patterns are defined as follows:

Category 1: Compositions showing characteristics of English expository writing; that is, linear development in which each subtopic is united to the main topic in a proper way. (Kaplan's category)

Category 2: Compositions showing a linear development in the beginning, but with weak endings; that is, topic sentences with very little substantiation.

Category 3: Compositions showing no explicit topic sentences; or, if there are any, they are preceded by superfluous introductory remarks.

Category 4: Compositions showing characteristics of Oriental writing; a circular (indirect) approach and inductive development. (Kaplan's category)

Category 5: Compositions which are tantamount to unrelated collections, of sentences; the sentences may be grammatically correct, but the overall effect is one of confusion.

To avoid influencing each other's judgment, we first allocated the 130 compositions to one or other of the five categories independently and then compared our results. We found that in 120 cases we agreed; agreement was reached on the remaining ten after some discussion.

Table 1. Percentage for each category of rhetorical patterns found in the Japanese students' English composition.

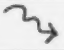
Category 1		34%
Category 2		19%
Category 3		6%
Category 4		27%
Category 5		14%

Table 1 indicates the percentage for each category of rhetorical patterns found in the 130 English compositions written by the Japanese students. Interestingly, the highest percentage is found for the linear approach (34%) and the second highest for the circular (or indirect) approach (27%), although there wasn't any significant difference between them. According to Kaplan, the linear approach characterizes English analytic writing, which is direct, logical and unified; while a circular approach marks Oriental writing, which is lacking in logic, unity and coherence.

Haruhiko Kindaichi states one of the characteristics of the Japanese language:

> [The Japanese] dislikes the sentence that ends so distinctly, for it looks stiff, formal, and brusque – or, in modern terms, dry. (1978:212)

The Japanese language is said to be oblique, and it is hard for non-Japanese readers to grasp the main idea. Kindaichi states one of the reasons:

> When one writes a long Japanese sentence, the predicate verb comes far behind the subject, which appears in the beginning. The many tiny clauses in between give listeners and readers a difficult time understanding the principal idea. (1978: 222)

From Kindaichi's perspective, Japanese students' compositions should show a high degree of the circular approach and a very small degree of the linear approach. However, the students' English compositions in the present study show that both linear and circular approaches are prominent. This suggests two possible explanations. First, it has to be taken into consideration that all of these students had had formal English instruction in Japan, and at the time of this study they were receiving intensive English instruction in the United States. Thus, in their compositions both Oriental and Western patterns are to be expected. But it is also possible that the Japanese rhetorical pattern has both linear and circular aspects.

Category 2, in which there is a topic sentence but very little substantiation, may be in evidence as a result of the Japanese tendency to avoid terse, perspicuous endings; that is, they expect the reader to infer the conclusion.

Category 5, which shows the second lowest percentage, has neither topic sentence, body, nor conclusion. Sentences are unrelated to each other. This could be due to a lack of English competence and/or writing ability.

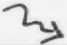
The lowest percentage is represented by Category 3, in which there is no explicit topic sentence or, if there is one, it is preceded by an unnecessary introductory remark. This kind of essay always starts with something indirect. The following two paragraphs are the introductory part of a student's composition on "The National Character of the Japanese".

> Japan is a homogeneous country compared with other countries. Japan is surrounded by sea, and she closed her door for a long time in the Edo period.
>
> One of the Japanese strong national character is moderation and shyness . . . .

Here, the student states the topic in the second paragraph instead of in the first. In the first paragraph he gives background information. Although this rhetorical pattern shows the lowest percentage of occurrence in our sample, it is interesting in that this long indirect beginning reflects the influence of *Ki*, an opening part of the traditional Japanese organizational pattern called *Ki* (opening) – *Shoo* (development) – *Ten* (turn or twist) – *Ketsu* (conclusion). In the *Ki-Shoo-Ten-Ketsu* organization, the topic of the initial unit is not the author's main topic. It is simply a subtopic that will lead into the main topic of the essay. This unit is called *Ki*. The second unit called *Shoo* develops the initial topic, setting the stage for the third unit, where the main topic is finally introduced and developed. This third unit is called *Ten*. Then the fourth unit called *Ketsu* brings together all these three units. Older generations of Japanese learned this organizational pattern at school. The present generation no longer learns it, although the terms themselves are familiar since high school students encounter them in the course of their schooling.

In order to see if there are actually both the linear and circular approaches in the Japanese thetorical pattern, as found in students' English compositions, we examined students' Japanese compositions. Our samples are limited to twenty-four compositions and only seven of the Japanese compositions were written by the same students who wrote the English compositions.

Table 2. Percentage for each rhetorical pattern found in students' Japanese compositions as contrasted with those of students' English composition.

		Japanese composition	English composition
Category 1	↓	29%	34%
Category 2		0%	19%
Category 3		8%	6%
Category 4	◎	46%	27%
Category 5		17%	14%

As shown in Table 2, the rhetorical pattern defined in category 2 is not extant in the students' Japanese compositions. Categories 3 and 5 in Japanese composition don't show a substantial percentage difference from categories 3 and 5 in English composition. Both categories 1 and 4 show relatively high percentages; the linear and circular approaches are the dominant ones, as is seen in the English compositions. This would confirm the possibility that the Japanese rhetorical pattern has both linear and circular approaches. However, in the English compositions a higher percentage is found for the linear approach than for the circular approach, while this is reversed for the Japanese compositions. This may have to do with the reader to whom the student was writing. English compositions were going to be read, corrected and graded by a native English teacher who was not familiar with the Japanese way of thinking. Therefore, writing had to be explicit and to the point. On the other hand, Japanese compositions were going to be read by Japanese natives who had the same background. Thus, the writer expected the reader to "read between lines" and to infer what had not been stated. A Japanese girl would never write in a letter to her Japanese lover, "I love you". He would assume that she loves him from other things she says in the letter which don't have any direct connection to her love for him. However, it is very possible that the same girl would write "I love you" to an American lover. Thus, the same person could use both linear and circular approaches, depending on the audience.

There were only seven cases of English and Japanese compositions written by the same student. This small number makes generalization impossible, but it is to be noted that in every case the rhetorical pattern of the English and Japanese compositions by the same writer was the same.

Analysis of the students' twenty-four Japanese compositions shows that both linear and circular approaches and the same person may use both approaches depending on the audience; while it is also possible that a person uses only one approach all the time. However, due to the small sample of English compositions, this needs further study.

Our study shows that 15% of the 130 English compositions by Japanese students were, in Kaplan's term, inductive (see page 2). Although the percentage is not high, this seems to be a very interesting characteristic of Japanese rhetoric, considering the claims by Kaplan (1972) and also by Christensen (1965) that almost all the English expository writings are deductive.

The following example is entitled *Why I chose my field of study.*

> It is not clear for me about when I met first animals. I think it maybe at the time when I was very small boy. I usually went outside with a elder boy. He almost knew everything about small animals around our town. So he was excellent teacher for me. I really don't remember how many times we went together and how many animals we got together. Our talking was about how to get a large shining beetle, where some boy found a nice looking snake. Unfortunately I was too small and young to remember everything, but I'm sure it was my first meeting with animals.
>
> Then, second impressive meeting came to me. It was when I was eighteen years old right after I graduated high school. I met seals. It was one of great exciting moments in my life. Since it was first time I saw large wild mammals in nature, they looked like another organisms in that from outer space. They were beautiful lovely animals. Since this meeting, my life was orientated to my way that I'm taking now.
>
> I'm taking zoology because of my love for them.

In the first paragraph, the student brings up his encounter with little animals and in the second paragraph, with large wild mammals; but he doesn't mention what his field is until the last paragraph. Thus the first paragraph introduces the topic to some extent inductively, and the second paragraph introduces it in a larger degree, again inductively; and, finally, in the last paragraph the main point is stated.

Our study also shows that 16% of the English compositions had some kind of didactic remark at the end. The following example concerns the purpose of education. After the student states in the first paragraph the difference between training and education, the second paragraph goes as follows:

> Sometimes we need some special knowledge to get a job, such as physical, or psychological knowledge. But it depends on the job. If you want to lead to good positions, you should get good education and you shouldn't forget to make efforts towards jobs everyday. Train yourself everyday.

The underlined sentences are a kind of didactic remark. At the end of the English compositions by Japanese students, "should," "ought to" and imperatives as in the above example, are often seen.

Other characteristics seen in Japanese students' compositions are frequent use of "as you know" and "I think." "As you know" is commonly used at the beginning of the compositions. For example, a student's composition entitled *Japanese national character* starts with the sentence, "*As you know,* Japanese society is a homogeneous society which consists of only one race and this gives us an advantage." For the writer, it is not important whether or not the audience knows the Japanese society is homogeneous. He uses "as you know" just to avoid an abrupt beginning. In Japanese writings and speeches in front of an audience, this use of "as you know" is very common. This may be a problem of interference from the Japanese language.

Frequent use of "I think" in students' compositions may also be a problem of interference. The following example is a passage from a student's English composition on historical stories:

> And after revolutions a lot of heirs often failed to govern. So they had a sad end. These stories are more interesting than novels, *I think.* And *I think* the most important point is that these stories are true.

In the above example, use of "I think" twice in a row sounds awkward; but when it is translated into Japanese it sounds natural.

Our final attempt to explore transfer from Japanese was to examine "because" and "although" as subordinated conjunctions and "when" as an indefinite relative adverb. We examined all 130 compositions to find whether adverbial clauses introduced by these words come before or after the main clause. We found that 76% of adverbial clauses introduced by "although," 73% of those introduced by "when" and 35% of those introduced by "because" came before the main clause. The study demonstrated that Japanese students appear to employ adverbial clauses including "although" and "when" more frequently before the main clauses than after. The explanation of this is probably that in Japanese the subordinate clauses including these words seldom come after the main clauses. On the other hand, Japanese subordinate clauses including "because" can be placed either before or after the main clause. It is interesting to note, however, that 14% of the usage of "because" is in independent sentences as defined, often incorrectly, by the students:

> If it is raining outside. I like to spend my free time reading comic books. *Because* reading makes me relax.

In the above example, the student uses a period instead of a comma and he starts an independent sentence with "because." Although this isn't correct in English, it is perfectly all right in Japanese. Again this may be as a result of interference from the Japanese language.

In this paper, we have discussed the rhetorical patterns found in compositions by Japanese students and also the problem of interference from the Japanese language. But how do the students themselves look at rhetoric? The following is a student's frank remark on learning to write English compositions:

> The Japanese way of writing and the American one differ very much. Struggling! Struggling! Struggling! I have constantly been struggling to break with the Japanese way of writing and to get used to the American style of writing. The Japanese tend to write with feeling; the American seems write with cool and logical head. It was just pain for me to have done with the Japanese style of writing for the first time. However after six weeks of studying at CESL, I am beginning to feel that style of writing is not strict rules that are imposed on us but very useful rules that help us a lot.

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THE ENIGMA OF READING COMPREHENSION

Yeghia Aslanian

Abstract

Reading is a dynamic and multifaceted process and comprehension of print is an outcome of an interaction between reader variables such as background knowledge, proficiency level, cognitive ability, motivation and purpose, and text variables such as sentence structure, vocabulary intensity, and the difficulty and novelty of the subject-matter. This paper, which falls into four parts, attempts to highlight the relative importance of these variables. In the first part, three major models of reading are discussed and contrasted: the bottom-up or text-based model, the constructivist or reader-based model, and the interactive or transactional model. In the second part, a number of empirical studies are reviewed which shed light on the nature of the reading process and instructional techniques. The studies deal with such topics as: the role of inference, context, prior knowledge, proper use of comprehension questions, and student questioning. The third section touches on what research in ESL reading has to offer the teacher. The point is made that ESL reading is different from L1 reading and a

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major difference is cultural in nature. The fourth and last section pulls together a number of implications and suggests some alternatives which might prove helpful to the ESL reading teacher.

INTRODUCTION

Reading is a complex and dynamic process – complex because it involves innumerable factors including vision, memory, cognition, prior knowledge and experience and cultural background; dynamic because it depends on who is reading what for what purpose, at what stage of proficiency and under what psychological circumstances. Whether it procedes from text to the reader's mind, or from the reader's mind to the text, or in both directions, is basically a function of the reader's knowledge of the language and the subject matter. It is clear that as the learner improves his knowledge of the language and the world, he reads better. In other words, the reader uses his visual information (the printed cues) minimally and reconstructs the message of the text on the basis of his theory of the world. Therefore, it would be only logical to say that reading is not an either/or process; rather, it is a function of an interaction (or transaction) between the reader, the text, level of proficiency, as well as psychological and sociological conditions.

This paper will include a) some models of reading and theoretical speculations about reading comprehension; b) a number of experiments related to reading comprehension; c) what research in L1 and L2 has to say in regard to teaching reading comprehension to ESL students; and d) certain implications that the reviewed research might have for the ESL of EFL teachers.

SOME MODELS AND THEORIES

What is reading? Is it decoding letters to sounds or word recognition? Is it reasoning, thinking and problem solving, or processing information? Is it extracting meaning from text or bringing meaning to text? Is it a psycholinguistic guessing game? Or is it all of these and even more?

A wide variety of answers have been attempted by theorists, reading specialists, psychologists, and recently psycholinguists. The definitions range on a continuum between the stimulus-response theory and the cognitive theory. Three major camps with respect to the nature and process of reading are:

a) Those who think that reading is a bottom-up, stimulus-bound, text-based, interpretive process in which the reader has a very minor role to play. According to this view, reading is a verbal response to printed (graphic) stimuli and the act of reading comprises skills and subskills. The reader progresses from letter features, to letters, to letter clusters, to morphemes, to words, and finally to sentences. This definition is linear and seldom concerns itself with discourse chunks bigger than sentences. Bloomfield (1942) and Fries (1963), for example, advocated the symbol-sound view and emphasized that teaching beginners to read should concern itself with helping them to decode the print into sound and from sound into meaning. They regarded written language as a secondary abstraction of speech (which was thought to be the "real" language). This point of view totally neglected semantic and syntactic systems as well as the role of reading as communication and information processing. This camp primarily views reading as an interpretive act, that is, a process of finding the meaning which inheres in the structure of the sentences and is independent of the comprehender (Blachowicz, 1977-1978).

b) Those who believe that reading is a top-down, reader-bound, knowledge-based, constructive, and dialectic process in which the print or the visual stimuli have a minor role to play and that in the task of reading the reader brings to bear his schemata (cognitive structure), prior knowledge, experience, expectations, and his theory of the world. This is the constructivist view of reading and reading comprehension. Thorndike (1917), Goodman (1970, 1973, 1975, 1977), Smith (1975, 1978) and Page (1979-1980), to name just a few, belong in this camp. An example of this point of view is Thorndike's now classic article which was published as early as 1917. In this article we read: "The mind is assailed as it were by every word in the paragraph. It must select, repress, soften, emphasize, correlate and organize, all under the influence of the right mental set or purpose or demand." (p.431).

Although Thorndike arrived at these conclusions by observing elementary school children, the proficient reader is far from being under the pressure of the printed page (since he selects according to his purpose, schemata, and perspective), yet what Thorndike says seems to be particularly true in the case of ESL students who come to the task of reading with a totally different frame of mind (both linguistically and culturally) and therefore feel the constant pressure of the printed page.

Another advocate of this second (constructivist) point of view is Kenneth Goodman, who contends that reading instruction should not begin with linguistic parts but with whole, complete, and real language. In emphasizing his point, Goodman (1975) states with humor that:

> Language is indivisible: it ain't no salami that you can slice as thin as you want and still have all the pieces look like the whole salami. Language is . . . learned from whole to part, from general to specific. (pp.628-630)

c) Those (especially in the literary camp) who believe that reading is neither totally text-bound nor completely reader-bound, but somewhere in between. These theorists argue that the reading process has two components – the text and the reader – and comprehension is the outcome of an interaction or transaction between the two. According to this viewpoint, the reader must be willing to be open to the text as much as he wishes to impose himself on the text. These people also strongly contend that a story, for example, does not have a meaning, but meanings and that every reader assembles his own meaning from the open-ended text, depending on his background. Their argument is based on the notion that the whole is more than the sum total of its parts – and this whole is created by the reader. According to them, there is no right or wrong meaning and the use of objective instruments such as multiple choice tests for measuring something as subjective as comprehension seems to be inappropriate. Maxine Greene (1975) has put this literary view succinctly:

> The reader who encounters the work must recreate it in terms of his consciousness. In order to penetrate it, to experience it existentially and empathetically, he must try to place himself within the "interior spaces" of the writer's mind as it is slowly revealed in the course of his work (emphasis in the original). (pp.300-301)

In her discussion of reading models, Williams (1978) aptly concludes: "It may be that different models are appropriate at different stages of reading proficiency" (p.17); or, as Newman (1978-1979) says, these models differ from each other in the differential emphasis they place on the visual versus the cognitive aspects of reading.

As far as reading instruction is concerned, no single model should be adhered to at the expense of the other models since each model answers different pedagogical questions and emphazises different aspects of reading.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES RELATED TO READING COMPREHENSION

Having discussed certain theoretical issues concerning reading and three contrasting models of reading, this paper now examines some of the empirical research and experiments that have been done regarding reading comprehension. These experiments deal with certain aspects of comprehension such as the phenomenon of inference, the importance of context, the role of schemata in understanding the printed page, and issues related to comprehension questions.

One of the most basic skills that a reader needs to utilize is the ability to make inferences. Making inferences is bridging the gap between two propositions or chunks of discourse in a text which are not explicitly connected by the author. Kintsch (1974), Frederiksen (1975) and others have demonstrated that reading even the simplest prose requires a great deal of inferential processing. Thus, comprehension depends to a great extent not on what is explicitly stated in a passage, but on the inferences of the reader (see Blachowicz, 1977-1978).

There are several factors that are involved in the phenomenon of inference. First, inference takes time. Haviland and Clark (1974) studied the phenomenon that inference even at sentence level takes time and the more implicit the message, the slower the process of reading. They found that, for example, the pair "Ed was given an alligator for his birthday. The alligator was his favorite present." was understood faster than the pair "Ed was given lots of things for his birthday. The alligator was his favorite present." The reason for this is that in the first pair the grammatical subject in sentence 2 has a direct antecedent in sentence 1, while in the seond pair the antecedent of "the alligator" is indirect (i.e., is not mentioned in the context sentence).

Second, inference is a function of context. A study concerning the relationship between inference and context was done by Thorndyke (1976), who investigated the role of inference on larger chunks of connected discourse than sentences. The researcher concludes that when a subject reads a piece of written discourse, he establishes a frame of reference or a context and thus sets up certain expectations which become criteria for the subsquent incoming information. When there is consistency between the two, no problem arises and meaningful reading continues, but when there is inconsistency, backward search begins. This finding is more or less similar to Goodman's (1970) conclusion that what the reader does is to test hypotheses created by his expectations. Even unfamiliar words are better understood and processed in familiar and meaningful contexts (Wittrock, Marks, & Doctorow, 1975). (One can easily see how important well-constructed titles and headings are as a general context or frame of reference for the reader.) Why is it important for the student to develop the ability to make inferences? One of the reasons is that inferred or derived information is retained longer than explicit or reproduced information; also when there is no context or no specific task, the reader seems to process information haphazardly. (Frederiksen, 1975).

Meyer (1975) has looked at the problem of text comprehension from another angle. In her discourse analysis she has postulated that the text consists of superordinate information (which is high in the hierarchy of discourse structure, roughly corresponding to the "main idea") and subordinate information (which is low in the discourse "tree," roughly corresponding to "details"). In an experiment she found that readers tend to retain and recall superordinate information better than subordinate information. If this is true, she argues, then the text writers should place important information high in the content structure in order to secure better learning and retention.

A very important factor without which comprehension of text cannot take place is relevant prior knowledge (or shcemata). Schemats are a person's abstract and hierarchical knowledge structure which consist of the person's life history – his prior knowledge, experience, beliefs, attitudes, etc. In the act of reading, a reader tries to interpret the text according to what he already knows and, depending on his perspective and purpose, processes the text information differently. Some of the researchers who have done considerable work in this connection are Richard Anderson and his associates. These people's interesting conclusion is that while reading, a person "sees" the message in a certain way and sometimes he does not even consider other alternatives. What their studies imply, pedagogically, is that if there are problems in students' reading comprehension (e.g., slow reading and over-reliance on the text), they are attributable to deficiencies in students' background knowledge rather than to their linguistic skills.

Let us now turn to the ubiquitous problem of comprehension questions – what kind of questions to ask, when to ask them, how often to ask them, and whether measuring comprehension must be carried out by means of objective tests, cloze procedures, or subjective and essay type tests.

With respect to this problem research is inconclusive. Some researchers, however, have come up with certain tentative solutions as to what type of questions should be asked of the reading students. Doake (1974), for example, makes a distinction between literal or explicit questions (beginning with **who, what, where**, etc.) and reasoning or inferential questions (beginning with **why, how**, etc.) and as a result of an experiment he concluded that pre and post adjunct questions appear to be a useful strategy for promoting comprehension, but with certain restrictions: post-literal adjunct questions seem to be superior to pre-literal; and pre-reasoning adjunct questions appear to be superior to post reasoning. The truth of this conclusion may partially lie in the notion that giving the student specific inferential tasks before reading the text activates relevant schemata which in turn make learning meaningful and easy. Of course, both the literal and the inferential type of questions are necessary; however, in order for the student to get engaged in a productive interaction with the text, he should be trained in answering questions in higher cognitive levels which deal with reasoning and problem solving as well as exploring the intention of the writer.

A crucial point which is often neglected in constructing comprehension tests is the fact that in a classroom situation the type of questioning affects the manner in which students process text information. In a study, Marton and Saljo (1976) found that students did adapt their strategies of learning to their conception of what was required of them. In other words, the subjects who expected factual questions mostly attended to explicit details, while those expecting inferential questions attended to higher level of processing text information. The researchers then concluded that expecting an objective test leads to a more superficial level of processing, while expecting an essay or oral test leads to the focussing of attention on "general principles and main points," thus suggesting deeper processing.

Comprehension has generally been measured by teacher questioning, but an extremely important indicator of text comprehension is the type of questions that students ask. Research in student questioning is indeed meagre and warrants serious attention. Miyake and Norman (1979) have touched on this point through empirical research. In a study they tested the notion that a prerequisite for asking questions about new topic matter is some appropriate level of knowledge. To test their hypothesis, they tested learners with two levels of background knowledge using learning material with two levels of difficulty. The learners were instructed to say aloud their questions and thoughts while learning from printed text. With easier material, beginners asked more questions than the trained learners; with the more difficult material, trained learners asked more questions than novice learners. The results seem to indicate that the students' asking questions is a function of their level of knowledge – when the material is too easy or too difficult, students do not ask questions.

RESEARCH IN ESL READING

Is learning to read in L1 similar to learning to read in L2? There are, certainly, similarities in the sense that reading is a universal act and the reader who is proficient in his native language, once past the preliminary stages of the acquisition of graphophonemic correspondences and mastery of certain subskills in L2, can transfer his L1 reading strategies. The differences, however, seem to overshadow the similarities. The ESL student's problems are twofold – cultural and linguistic.

As discussed earlier, prior knowledge and life history directly affect the comprehension and retention of written discourse. This issue gains tremendous importance especially in the case of the ESL student who finds himself in a new culture and environment. To write a text, the writer draws upon his history and experiences; to decode the message, the reader should do likewise. And if the writer and the reader are of diverse backgrounds, then the gap must be bridged if communication is to take place. Psychological, sociological, and cultural factors, therefore, are the most important determinants of one's education. This is a point that Eskey (1973) and Kaplan (1966), too, have emphasized in their research concerning reading and writing problems of non-native speakers of English. It is apt to quote at this point

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Kaplan's (1966) viewpoint, which, in limbo for a decade or so, is now gaining some credibility:

> The teaching of reading and composition to foreign students does differ from the teaching of reading and composition to American students, and cultural differences in the nature of rhetoric supply the key to the difference in teaching approach. (p. 1)

Every language has, according to Kaplan (1966), a rhetoric and logical system of its own and what an ESL student brings to the task of reading English print is an entirely different frame of reference and schemata based on his social and educational background.

Despite the fact that not much empirical research has been done in the area of reading comprehension in ESL and minority situations, there is some evidence which indicates that non-native speakers of English or minority children do have problems in adjusting to the new cultural as well as linguistic environment. Hill (1977), for example, makes the point that minority children's reading comprehension is often a function of their socioeconomic status and past experiences. This point of view is in full agreement with the insights that psycholinguistics has produced; namely, that while reading, the reader plays an active role and that he takes the text to mean what his background dictates him. "Reading," argues Hill (1977), is "not simply. . .a pragmatic activity that human beings engage in so that they may obtain particular bodies of information, but rather. . .an activity that engages the imaginative faculties of the whole person" (p. 52). Labov and Robins (1969), too, have a similar point to make – "that the major problem responsible for reading failure is a cultural conflict" (p. 402).

In her investigations of the effects of the reader's attitudes on responding to prose, McKillop (1951), similarly, emphasizes the point that the reader learns more easily and retains better the material which is in harmony with his attitude than the material which is contrary to his attitude.

Aside from the cultural and personal conflicts, the ESL student comes to the task of reading with serious linguistic problems. Even students who are well-read and fluent readers in their native language seem to suffer from slow reading in L2 because not all reading skills can be transferred to L2 situations (Clarke, 1979), and also because L2 readers process information at a slower rate than L1 readers (Oller & Tullius, 1973).

To comprehend a text in English, the ESL student needs to understand, among other things, the denotative and the connotative meanings of the vocabulary items, idiomatic expressions and cultural references, the case relationships within complex sentences, the cohesive elements and devices of meaning relationships in connected written discourse, and finally, the use of context while making inferences. Some of his other problems (especially at the earlier stages) with respect to comprehending the print include: lack of adequate oral language competence, inability to follow the logical sequence and mood of the text, insufficient knowledge of the hierarchical structures of written discourse, and lastly, inability to go beyond the text in order to extract alternate meanings.

These problems may vary from individual to individual and from level to level, but some of them seem to persist and pose hindrances even to very advanced stages of reading English as a second language.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ESL READING TEACHER

Theory, research, and teaching experience in both L1 and L2 go hand in hand and constitute an invaluable asset for the reading teacher, therefore, a concerned teacher needs to keep abreast of the current developments in both theory and research. More than anything else, he needs to draw upon conclusions that are based on observations (and self-observations, for that matter) in the classroom as well as outside the classroom. At this point, it may be worth looking at some conclusions that I have arrived at after the review of theory and research related to certain aspects of reading and reading comprehension. These are by no means definitive directives, but can be ruminated over and tried as alternatives. Alternatives are what we ESL teachers desperately need to keep ourselves and our students lively in the classroom and to enhance the desire to learn. Briefly, these conclusions are as follows:

- Reading programs in which the teacher is the sole authority in selecting materials exert a negative effect on the students. (Smith, 1978)
- The teacher's role is to activate, encourage and help students to learn to read. To do this teachers must make reading meaningful, which means seeing how it looks from the child's point. (Smith, 1978: 164)
- Setting purposeful tasks (e.g., reading a film commentary to decide whether or not one should go to see the movie) for the students before reading the text enhances their comprehension and retention and adds relevance to the reading activity.
- Silent reading should be encouraged as much as possible since comprehension is better and reading faster when meaning is obtained directly from print. Besides, oral reading can at times be extremely embarrassing, particularly for non-native speakers.
- Inferential, evaluative and value-judgment questions are preferable to "What was the Marlup poving" type questions since they make students integrate the text information and arrive at solutions. In other words, open-ended, divergent questions are more conducive to

reasoning and learning than closed-ended, convergent questions.

- Talking about what has been read (and this is what normally happens in real-life situations) can help the student to organize what he has read and to integrate it with his previous knowledge (Rigg, 1976; Page 1979-1980).
- Individual interpretations of the text based on the student's background must be encouraged rather than suppressed.
- To acquire pleasant and meaningful experience from the act of reading, students should sometimes be allowed to choose materials of their interest.
- In oral reading excessive attention to accuracy in pronunciation disrupts the meaning and communication.
- In selecting reading materials for non-native speakers, relevance is a more important criterion than text difficulty, and classroom activities should parallel the "real world" as closely as possible (Clarke, 1977).
- Some learn better through listening and some through reading. To ensure more learning and better comprehension, it would be more fruitful to expose the students to both modalities.
- Teach the students **how** to comprehend not **what** to comprehend. That is to say, teach strategies that can be useful in decoding the written message – where to look for main idea or details, when to pay attention to transitional words or phrases, how to track down the writer's viewpoint by looking at recurring themes and key-words, how to use syntactic rules, etc., etc.
- Last but not least, reading is a serious personal and social activity and should be treated as such. It should

not be taught merely for the purpose of "consolidating" what has been listened to and spoken; on the contrary, the ESL student (particularly at college level) must be exposed to speech in order to make sense of what he reads. In other words, reading is a goal in its own right – and a means of survival.

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TIME AND SPACE WITH COMMUNITY LANGUAGE LEARNING

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Abstract

The use of time and space in ESL/FL classrooms is of critical importance. The first purpose of this paper is to explain Community Language Learning as a time-learning configuration. Part one does this by defining CLL with special attention to time within the learning process. The second purpose of this paper is to explain the use of CLL as a time-configuration within classroom space. Part two illustrates this time/space relationship by examining the use of four CLL contracts, or learning exercises, within the spatial configuration of the classroom.

INTRODUCTION

Our biggest problem as English teachers is how to use the time and space available for the utmost possible learning. The first purpose of this paper is to explain Community Language Learning (CLL) by the late Charles A. Curran (1972; 1976). CLL will be introduced in part one as a time-learning

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configuration. The second purpose is to show how CLL works in the classroom, which is a space configuration. Much classroom learning takes place today in a space configuration characterized by rows of desks rooted to the floor. At the front is a podium from which learning descends in a single direction from the teacher to the students. By way of contrast to the space configuration of the row, the CLL teacher works with circles of students, as will be shown in part two. The circle, as a space configuration, can be much more supportive of basic communication than the row. The exercises used to illustrate the potential of the circle in part two are also arranged to show to some extent the way that developmental stages of CLL, the time structure, can be integrated with allocation of classroom space.

A BRIEF DEFINITION OF CLL

CLL is a supportive language learning contract which consists of group experience and reflection. There are five elements of this definition which deserve particular attention: First, CLL is a *learning contract*; second, CLL is *group experience*; third, CLL is *group reflection*; fourth, CLL is a *supportive contract*; fifth, CLL is *language learning*. The rest of this part will be devoted to an explanation of each element of the CLL definition.

First, CLL is a *learning contract*. In general, a contract is a basic agreement made by a number of people to work together toward a common goal, a learning goal such as the improvement of English speaking ability. A contract fills three important functions: First, it is a way of using time; second, of deploying energy; third, of defining roles. First, a contract contains time provisions, so the CLL contract consists of time-limited group experiences in learning. The time limit clarifies the experience and sets it in a frame which is easier for the students to accept. Students generally find that a

10-minute speaking experience is easier to accept than one which lasts for 20 minutes or one without any time specifications at all. Second, energy is deployed by describing a set of conditions in which a group works. The size of the group makes demands on the energy of the participants. For example, students seem to use more energy when they speak English with a large number than if there are only a few students or one other person in the group. Thirdly, a contract defines roles. The roles of the teacher and students are clarified by the contract. Under the terms of the contract, a teacher may adopt an active role, or in a flexible manner, a more passive role. The roles of the students change as they gradually alter their positions in the community from "non-speakers" to "speakers" of English. The demands on time, energy, and the roles of the group members are defined by the contract. The existence of a contract differentiates CLL from mere group activity. Over a period of time, the "Community" emerges from a variety of group activities. Each learning experience is reviewed as part of the learning contract. Group reflection, to be explained later, is an essential part of the CLL time-learning configuration. One CLL contract, therefore, is a group learning experience together with its reflection period.

Second, CLL is *group experience*. There are three kinds of group learning which are chracteristic of CLL. In common with the classroom as we know it, learning takes place with the whole or larger numbers of students, 10 or 15 to a group. The teacher participates in the large group activity. The second kind takes place in smaller units composed of five or six students. The teacher does not participate in the small group activity. The third type takes place in pair or triad groups. The teacher's participation is optional. These three kinds of group experience, which are basically space configurations, are used by the CLL teacher according to the needs of the students. CLL classrooms are characterized by circles of students rather than rows of students. The flexible use of three kinds of space configuration will be further demonstrated in part two.

Third, CLL is *group reflection*. In the time sequence, a period of review, evaluation, and reflection is held after each group experience. The reflection period gives the students and the teacher a chance to review the events of the experience part of the class. What proves valuable to learning is separated from what is of less value. But more important, the students begin to compare their gains from a number of group experiences and place a self-evaluation on the events of the course. The CLL reflection period consists of a short period of silent reflection on the past events of the class. During this time, the students are asked to compose a brief English report about the class. After the reports are written, they are read to the class and shared by all the members. Valuable suggestions for future classes are made during this part of the reflection period. If the teacher adopts these, they become a force in learning. Students are more powerfully motivated to learn by a teacher who listens and accepts suggestions.

Fourth, CLL is a *supportive contract*. Besides classroom space, another dimension of space lies between the teacher and students called "Learner Space" by Curran (1972: 91). This space is essential if one person is to learn from another. If the teacher fills the space, then the students are deprived of a chance to grow and fill the space. If the teacher allows the students to expand and grow, learning increases at a rapid rate. Supportive use of learner space is related to the time dimension of progress in English speaking. The teacher operates on a time scale from activity to silence. There is a time when his activity with the whole or larger groups of students is necessary for the supportive communication of knowledge. There is also a time for the teacher's supportive silence when the students are allowed to exercise the knowledge which they have acquired in small group activity. In a supportive way, the teacher may employ a CLL contract which calls for partial silence. He is silent toward the whole, but active in speaking with individuals in the class during pair group activity. Unfortunately, a fuller explanation of how partial silence works is impossible within the scope of this short article.

Fifth, CLL is *language learning*. According to Curran (1972: 128-135), language learning is a process of growth which occurs in five stages. The five stages parallel the life of a human person from birth (Stage I) through childhood (Stage II), adolescence (Stages III & IV), into adulthood (Stage V). In the next part, these stages will be further explained as they occur in the English speaking classroom. They will be exemplified by four group learning experiences.

SPACE CONFIGURATIONS WITH CLL

The purpose of part two is to focus on the space configurations of the CLL class. The following four CLL contracts will be explained: (1) "*The Shape I'm In*"; (2) "*The Clock Line Up*"; (3) "*52 Questions for the Teacher*"; (4) "*A Personal Interview*." These four exercises were chosen because they can be easily implemented in any classroom. As will be explained later, the roles can be redefined or the exercise can be reversed for more effective learning at later CLL stages. During the course of the group experience, the space configuration changes from the whole to small, or even pair groups. If the teacher learns to use circles of different sizes, the flexible use of space will contribute to communication and learning.

Stage I: The Introduction. Stage I is called the "Embryonic" or "Birth" Stage. At this point learners on the college level in Japan have a six-year background of English study, but lack experience with English as a means of communication with others. They have had minimal contact with native speakers of English. Their conduct is characterized by anxiety and lack of confidence in themselves as English speakers. Self-introduction in supportive small groups seems to be the best remedy for the situation. The students are seated in groups of five and instructed to help each other prepare a brief speech about themselves, their hobbies, interests, and motives for studying English. They are given time to discuss and prepare their speeches together. After the preparation time, each student rises to present the self-introduction to the whole class.

Reflection on this activity reveals several interesting points which the teacher should stress. First of all, the problem of anxiety in speaking English is a common problem which can be solved if mutual help is available to each individual in the class. Second, the mutual assistance characteristic of the CLL class is pointed out in contrast to classes based on other methods. Students appreciate the friendly relationships which they find in the small groups. Third, the small group space configuration greatly supports learning. The learner at this stage is told what to say and, therefore, is not completely independent of the small group. As a space configuration, the small group functions as a protective embryo out of which the English speaker gradually emerges.

Stage II: The Shape I'm In. After the student has discovered his existence during Stage I, his next task is to clarify his identity as an English speaker. Stage II, called the "Self-assertion" Stage, is characterized by a strong drive toward self-expression and the need for contact with other speakers of English. The learner picks up many new English expressions, even though he may be able to use these only in a semi-grammatical way. The teacher should encourage the interaction and not interrupt the communication to correct mistakes.

An exercise which greatly facilitates communication during Stage II is called "*The Shape I'm In.*" It was taken from Moskowitz (1978: 62) and can be done with the whole group together. A triangle, a circle, a square, a hexagon, and an irregular wavy line are drawn on the board. As a first step, the students are asked to choose the figure which best expresses the way they feel on that day. More important, they are also asked to write down the reason why they feel that way. After the students are given time to make their choices, individuals are asked, as a second step, if they would care to report their choice and share the reason for the choice with the class. At this point, it becomes clear that one figure can be interpreted in a variety of ways. As a third step, groups are formed of those who chose the triangle, the circle, the square, and so on. If the number is too large for a single figure, several groups can be formed. The students are left free to discuss their choices for about 15 minutes.

The reflection period after this exercise revealed several important aspects about communication in the class. First, it was difficult to talk about feelings directly, but easy to identify with a figure and discuss differences of feelings. Second, a communication barrier existed in the class. As teacher, I was totally unaware of the problem. The students were taking employment examinations at this time. Because of this situation, the class was divided roughly into three groups, A, B, and C. Group A was composed of those who had family businesses and, therefore, were not concerned with the employment examinations. Group B was made up of students who had passed their examinations successfully and had their future employment settled. They were extremely elated at their success but were prevented from communicating for fear of offending those who might not have passed. Group C consisted of those who had failed their first employment examinations and were feeling depressed. They were not anxious to talk about their failures.

Identifying with the figures helped the students to overcome their communication difficulties, especially when they realized they had common problems. The circle in Japan represents good condition. Those who had passed ended up in the group with others who had chosen the circle. Thus, they could communicate their good luck in finding suitable employment. Those who failed found themselves with others who had chosen the irregular wavy line (all out of shape). Great relief was expressed by this group when individuals discovered others with similar problems.

Stage III: The Clock Line Up. Stage III is the "Separate Existence" Stage. By this time, the students have built up enough confidence through the use of English to function independently of the teacher. Their English is still characterized by its semi-grammatical quality. At this point, the center of the students' attention is on themselves and their functioning as English speakers. When they become convinced that they can really speak English, their self-confidence tends to exclude the assistance of the teacher. The action of the teacher is still necessary if the students hope to improve the grammatical quality of their English. Therefore, a crisis arises during Stage III. If they hope to speak better English, the students have to make the teacher part of the Community again.

The best way to assist the students through the crisis is to promote self-understanding (Implication: How am I excluding the teacher) and the understanding of others (For example: the teacher). This can be done with an exercise reported by Moskowitz (1978: 63). The numbers of a clock are positioned at equal points around the classroom walls from one to 12. The students are asked to go to the time of day which they like best. They are requested to write down the reason for their choice also. After using this exercise, called the "*Clock Line Up*," on several occasions, I found that mini-groups tend to cluster around the morning hours. Others take shape around the afternoon or evening hours. Modern culture has perhaps divided the human race into either "Early Birds" or "Night Owls." These mini-groups can be combined or divided in order to promote communication. The students are allowed about 15 minutes to discuss their choices.

Reflection on the exercise greatly promoted self-understanding. The students came to the realization on their own inner time-clock. Some people function best in the morning; others, in the evening. People make the same choices for a wide variety of reasons. The students came away from the exercise with a more vivid sense of time and its importance in living. Suggestions for variations of the exercise included using the months of the year, or the days of the week.

Stage IV: Reverse Process and Role Reversal. During the first three CLL Stages, the teacher has exercised an understanding role of assisting the students. At Stage IV, the students begin to perform in a role of understanding the ideas which the teacher wishes to present. Self-understanding gradually increases during Stage III and leads to a better understanding and acceptance of the teacher. Learning can be enhanced through "Reverse Process" and "Role Reversal" during Stage IV. For the *"Clock Line Up,"* the students were asked to choose the hour which they liked best. During the CLL reflection period, the students suggested that the process be reversed. They were to repeat the exercise, but choose the hour of the day which they liked least. This is an example of reverse process learning. Many other exercises can be reversed in this way for greater learning effect.

An example of role reversal occurred in the case of the interview. After the students had performed interviews composed by the teacher (Stage III), they were allowed to construct an interview with the teacher acting as interviewee. The whole class functioned as interviewer. This is an example of role reversal. Preparation for the exercise was done together with the students. The students were asked to compose a series of questions to be asked of the teacher. These were collected and put in order, according to life history. The students were allowed to ask about the childhood, adolescence, and university life of the teacher. Repetitive questions were discarded and new ones were composed to fill the gaps. The students formed a large semicircle around the teacher. Each student was allowed to ask two questions of the teacher. Since I could think of no other appropriate title, the exercise was named: "*52 Questions For The Teacher*."

Stage V: A Personal Interview. Stage V is the "Adult Stage." After a 45-minute experience with the teacher as interviewee, the roles were reversed again as the students were assigned the task, in groups of five, of conducting interviews among themselves. By this time, they were able to function in the foreign language in an independent way. The exercise, patterned after Hopper and Whitehead (1979: 223-252), was called "*A Personal Interview*." The purpose of the interview was to help the interviewee establish a better self-understanding and to make progress in speaking English. The exercise was divided into three parts: preparation, conducting, and evaluating the interview. The group of five students prepared a single set of questions covering the personal history of an individual. The preparation for the interview with the teacher, the previous exercise, became the model for composing the questions for this interview. The same set of questions was used as a guide when each student took the role of interviewer. One student was interviewed, one acted as time-keeper, and the other two were observers. At the end of each interview, the roles were changed and the interview was repeated. With repetition of the interviews, the students gradually departed from the prepared set of questions. They were able to introduce new topics or ask spontaneous questions as the need arose.

SUMMARY

The first purpose of this article was to explain CLL as a time-learning configuration. The second purpose was to show CLL works in the classroom, which is a space configuration. A definition of CLL was presented in part one. The following four CLL contracts were explained in part two: (1) "*The Shape I'm In*"; (2) "*The Clock Line Up*"; (3) "*52 Questions For The Teacher*"; and (4) "*A Personal Interview*". By way of conclusion, I would like to appeal to English teachers to become more aware of how the following four items are used in their classrooms: First, time configurations; second, space configurations; third, reverse process; fourth, role reversal. If time and space configurations can be used to promote communication, more effective learning will be the result.

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MACRO-ANALYSIS: A TECHNIQUE FOR HELPING JAPANESE STUDENTS OF ENGLISH TO COPE WITH THE CULTURE BARRIER

Kathryn Taylor Mizuno

Abstract

One of the main causes of the difficulty experienced by many Japanese in expressing their ideas and opinions effectively in an English speaking situation is the great difference in attitudes in Japanese and Western cultures toward the nature and function of discussion. Comparative studies of Japanese and American culture show that while in the U.S.A. discussion and debate play a vital and dynamic role in the social, academic and political spheres, in Japan the spoken word has a much less prominent function. This writer has used macro-analysis techniques in several intermediate and advanced oral English classes as a means of providing Japanese students with experience in planning and carrying out their own democratic goal-oriented discussions in English. Macro-analysis techniques are a useful means to this end because they encourage an equal distribution of leadership among the members of the group and encourage a democratic atmosphere in which the group can seek to synthesize the ideas of its members into a conclusion.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a report of this writer's use of macro-analysis techniques in teaching groups of intermediate and advanced college students of English how to express their ideas articulately and constructively in a democratic group discussion. The paper first presents the aims of such a procedure and then briefly analyzes the cultural gap between Japanese and English-speaking people with regard to their attitudes toward the nature and function of discussion. Then, after explaining briefly what macro-analysis is, it reports how these techniques have been adapted and applied in the college English classroom, and finally evaluates the procedure and makes recommendations for improvement and further development.

AIMS

The teacher of a foreign language must prepare students to overcome culture barriers as well as language barriers. Basic differences in thought and behavior patterns probably create a more insurmountable barrier to intercultural communication than language differences do. A pioneer in the new field of intercultural communication, John Condon, lists four areas that must be studied as sources of misunderstanding in communication across cultural boundaries: (1) the area of language, (2) the non-verbal area, (3) the area of values and (4) the area of reasoning and rhetoric (Condon, 1972: 45-46). As he lists these problem areas in ascending order of difficulty to overcome, the language barrier seems to be a relatively minor obstacle to communication in comparison to the other three areas. This writer sees macro-analysis techniques as a useful way to help students of English overcome not only this language barrier, but also the barriers caused by deeper basic cultural differences in the other three categories, particularly differences in values and thought patterns included in areas 3 and 4. It is certainly true for Japanese, as it is for people of any culture, that these basic differences between their culture and other cultures create barriers to meaningful communication. Nakane Chie,[1] the cultural anthropologist points out one source of difficulty for Japanese in communicating with non-Japanese. She notes that a basic rule for social interaction for the Japanese is that there are three basic groups of people; those within one's own group, those whose background is fairly well known and those whose background is unknown. Non-Japanese people fall in the third category. Nakane concludes: "If the Japanese had some general code of manners for dealing with people which did not differentiate [these three categories of people] they might have an easier time approaching or interacting with foreigners" (Nakane, 1974: 131). Macro-analysis techniques might provide a model for the kind of general code of manners that is called for here, giving Japanese speakers of English a new kind of experience in participating in a democratic discussion.

The differing views held by Japanese and English-speaking people as to the nature and function of discussion are at the root of the difficulty many Japanese seem to face in effectively presenting their ideas and opinions in an English-speaking situation. There are several aspects to a meaningful discussion in English which must be understood in order to participate effectively in one. First, it should be a constructive, open sharing of opinions and ideas, with the goal of reaching some kind of conclusion. Second, it requires active participation of all members, which includes both careful listening and straightforward articulation of opinions and ideas. Third, it is based on the premise that the opinions of all the participants have value, and therefore some influence on the outcome.

There seem to be certain social conventions in Japanese culture that make this kind of discussion difficult. First, interpersonal communication in Japan is based on a hierarchical social structure in which there is a highly developed consciousness of relative rank and status. Second, the Japanese make clear distinctions as to what kind of behavior is appropriate to a given situation. Therefore, the way a Japanese speaks and what he says are largely determined by the situation and his status relative to the people to whom he is speaking. He is more likely to express himself openly and honestly when speaking to people of equal status in an informal situation than when addressing social superiors or inferiors in a formal one. Third, Japanese tend to be reluctant to stand out in a group as being different, so that even in an informal gathering of social peers, individuals may hesitate to express views that might not be shared by the whole group.

If these generalisations about Japanese behavior are true, it would seem to be extremely difficult for a Japanese to adapt himself to function effectively in the English-speaking world, where the social structure is more democratic than hierarchical, where there is less change in behavior demanded to suit different situations and where there is less pressure to conform to the group. It is the hypothesis of this writer, though, that language is to some extent a determining factor in reinforcing these habits and attitudes, and that when a Japanese shifts from his native language to English he may free himself from some of the cultural limitations that would restrict him if he were speaking Japanese.

Although the purpose of teaching a foreign language is clearly not to have students learn to merely imitate the manners and customs of its native speakers, it is important for anyone who wants to learn to communicate with those native speakers to understand something of the differences between his own culture and theirs. Only on that basis will he be able to communicate effectively with them. For these reasons it seems important for the Japanese speaker of English to know how to present his ideas articulately in an English-speaking group situation.

It was with the aim of providing this kind of training that this writer began a few years ago to introduce macro-analysis techniques in several intermediate and advanced level college oral English expression classes. It was hoped that this approach would 1) encourage students to participate actively in planning and carrying out their own discussions, 2) encourage a democratic atmosphere in which no one, including the teacher, was regarded as the "discussion leader", and 3) help give discussions direction and purpose. This report summarises how macro-analysis techniques have been used in this way in advanced and intermediate college oral English expression classes of 10 to 20 students each.

THE CULTURE GAP

A comparison of American and Japanese social conventions and attitudes toward verbal communication will show very clearly the great cultural barrier which the Japanese must overcome in order to function effectively in the English-speaking world.[2] Dean Barnlund, a leader in the field of intercultural communication, presents the culture gap between the two countries very succinctly: "If one were forced to choose a few words to capture the ethos of these societies they might be these: homogeneity, hierarchy, collectivity and harmony for Japan; heterogeneity, equality, individualism and change for the United States" (Barnlund, 1975: 161). In contrast to the emphasis on social hierarchy and group harmony in Japanese society, the principles of equality and individualism on which American society is based allow relatively free and uninhibited expression of opinion in a group, regardless of the relative rank and status of the group members. Open exchange of varying opinions is not only tolerated in American society, it is positively encouraged. "We [Americans] like to disagree; we enjoy being challenged; we find it interesting or even necessary to play the devil's advocate to create disagreements even if we really do not disagree" (Condon, 1972: 52). In contrast to this the Japanese place emphasis on preserving the appearance of harmonious unanimous agreement in a group (Doi, 1974: 22) and thus seek to avoid disagreement or contradiction of one another.

Japanese and Americans have rather different concepts of what a discussion is, and have different expectations of one. The Japanese tends to view discussion as somewhat of a formality, being prepared and planned to some extent ahead of time, so that the outcome is to some degree determined before the discussion itself actually begins. To the American, on the other hand, a discussion is a dynamic process of exchanging various ideas and opinions with the goal of synthesising them constructively into a conclusion. The very definition of a discussion of this sort precludes the possibility of predetermined outcome. Dean Barnlund sees this kind of attitude toward discussion as basic to the American social structure: "The American social structure rests upon deep commitment to discussion as the primary mode of inquiry, of learning, of negotiation and of decision making" (Barnlund, 1975: 89). He notes that while it is an "indispensable social skill" for the American to be able to articulate his views in discussions aimed at problem solving, the Japanese tend to consider articulate persons to be "foolish or even dangerous" (Barnlund, 1975: 89).

There seems to be trend in the United States today toward recognising more and more the value of discussion as a tool in dealing with conflict in a constructive effort to effect positive social change. This trend is reflected by Jones, Barnlund and Haiman in their analysis of the function of discussion in the United States, *The Dynamics of Discussion*, in which they state their aim as follows: "We advocate that people join with others in discussion as a way of bringing about change by democratic means" (Jones, et al., 1980: 16-17). Barnlund elaborates on this as follows: "In [the American] social system enounter is essential. The validity of change, cultural or personal, must be tested through dialogue. Discussion and debate, the most prominent communicative forms in western cultures, involve proposals and counterproposals, assertions and refutations, leading to agreement on critical principles or actions" (Barnlund, 1975: 166). Macro-analysis is based on this principle. While its purpose in the English language classroom is not to plan social action projects, it is, in the opinion of this writer, an effective way to teach students to analyse and discuss issues of vital importance to them in a constructive way, rather than simply discussing or debating in a vacuum.

A number of scholars in various disciplines who have made comparative studies of Japanese and English-speaking people have reached conclusions that suggest it is difficult or even impossible to carry out in Japanese society the kind of discussion described above. Nakamura Hajime, in his study of the philosophical roots of Asian cultures, notes that "Japanese are often lacking in the radical spirit of confrontation and criticism" (Nakamura, 1964: 402) which is essential to meaningful discussion. John Condon points out that there is social pressure in Japanese groups to "work for and through the group. One must follow form and do the expected. One must avoid embarrassment. These are not the qualities which make for great debates" (Condon and Yousef, 1975: 238). He goes on to say that Japanese seek to reach consensus not in open public discussion, but behind the scenes, and notes that public statements are usually just formal announcements of what is already generally known to have been decided beforehand. He concludes that because "the clash of ideas" is abhorrent in their society "many Japanese have said that it is impossible to debate in Japanese" (p. 238). This aversion to expressing different opinions in open discussion is probably a primary reason why the range of topics considered acceptable for discussion tends to be narrower in Japanese than in English-speaking cultures. On the basis of a comparative study on how and to whom Americans and Japanese express their ideas and feelings in words, Barnlund reaches the conclusion that "In Japan people rarely discuss in more than a superficial way any subject beyond their taste in food, television programs, films, music or reading. This, apparently, is the deepest communication they experience with anyone in their lives, even those closest to them," (1975: 157). Whether or not Barnlund's single study justifies such a categorical conclusion, it clearly indicates a difference between Japanese and Americans with regard to the kinds of topics that are discussed in their respective cultures. Nakane notes that the direction and content of a Japanese conversation is determined by the interpersonal relations of those speaking. She describes Japanese conversation as follows: "In most cases a conversation is either a one-sided sermon, the 'I agree completely' style of communication, which does not allow for the statement of opposite views; or parties to a conversation follow parallel lines winding in circles and ending exactly where they started. Much of a conversation is taken up by long descriptive accounts, the narration of personal experiences or the statement of an attitude toward a person or an event in definitive and subjective terms unlikely to invite, or reach, a compromise" (Nakane, 1970: 34-35). She goes on to state that there are "three basic steps of reasoning" in a meaningful discussion, based on thesis and anti-thesis, "party and confrontation on an equal footing which will develop into or permit the possibility of synthesis" (Nakane, 1970: 35). She concludes that because Japanese groups tend to be intolerant of the expression of opposing opinions, "In Japan it is extremely difficult to engage in a truly democratic discussion (of the type I know from experience is common in India, or for instance, in Italy, England or America) in the course of which statements of opposition are taken by the other party and then form an important element of the development of the discussion" (Nakane, 1970: 147).

This writer's use of macro-analysis techniques in teaching English to Japanese college students in based on the premise that while it may be difficult or even impossible, as the evidence cited above would indicate, to have a truly democratic exchange of ideas in Japanese, through using these techniques as a framework in which to conduct English discussions Japanese students may be able to discover and experience aspects of the kind of democratic interaction that would be useful and perhaps even essential for them to function effectively in an English-speaking society.

WHAT IS MACRO-ANALYSIS?

During the last decade macro-analysis seminars have become more and more common, particularly in England and the United States. They have provided a way for small groups of ordinary citizens to study large-scale (hence "macro") issues in an organized, manageable and action-oriented way. Although these seminars have been used primarily for studying socio-economic issues with a view toward social change, they can be used in any kind of small group to deal with any topic, and the techniques they employ are in a constant state of development. A manual for organising macro-analysis seminars describes them as follows:

"Macro-analysis seminars are *democratically run* study groups that attempt to increase the participants' awareness of the economic and social forces that are shaping our global society. *They are distinctive in their concern for the needs and feelings of all group participants, and in the procedures being developed to assist the group to focus their discussions* and to derive from them valuable practical suggestions for social change action." (Jacobs, et al., 1975: 4; italics mine). In adapting these techniques to the teaching of English as a second language, emphasis has been placed on the process without losing sight of the goal for participants to "try to apply what they learn [in the seminars] to their attempts to change society and their own way of life" (Jacobs, et al., 1975: 2). The primary aim is to give students experience in holding discussions about topics of vital importance to them in a democratic atmosphere.

Following is a brief description of the group process basic to macro-analysis seminars.[3]

The agenda or plan for each session of a macro-analysis seminar is made by the whole group on the basis of consensus. There are three specifically defined roles in the group: the convenor, facilitator and assistant facilitator. It is significant that no one plays the role of "leader," "chairperson," "secretary" or "president." The teacher acts as convenor, and takes over-all responsibility for organising the group, providing necessary materials, and acting as facilitator for the first few sessions to orient the group to macro-analysis. The responsibility for conducting each session is assumed by two group members taking the roles of facilitator and assistant facilitator, but they are not discussion leaders in the conventional sense. The term facilitator has been coined in order to make clear that this person's role is to facilitate or aid the smooth functioning of the group toward achieving its goals. It is the task of the facilitator to see that the agreed-upon agenda is followed, and that the discussion does not wander from the topic at hand. She[4] must also be aware of the feelings of the members of the group, and see that they are understanding each other and that everyone is actively participating. In order for the assistant facilitator to help the facilitator with these tasks the two meet together before each session to decide how best to proceed. The assistant also acts as a timekeeper, to see that the agenda is followed, and as the recorder, whose job it is to write down on a wall chart items mentioned in discussion to which the group may want to refer again. Writing with a felt pen on big sheets of paper such as *mozoshi* is better than using blackboards for this purpose because these sheets can be kept and referred to in subsequent sessions. It is essential that the roles of facilitator and assistant facilitator be rotated, so that at each session a new assistant for the following session is chosen, and the assistant for one session becomes the facilitator for the next. In this way there is a different pair facilitating each meeting. Ideally everyone in the group should have a chance to play both roles.

USING THESE TECHNIQUES IN THE CLASSROOM

In classes in which macro-analysis techniques are to be used the teacher, acting as *convenor*, comes to the first class with an agenda like the one below, written on a big piece of paper so that everyone can see it easily when it is put up on the wall.

Agenda

1. Convenor's self-introduction, and introduction of macro-analysis	3 minutes
2. Agenda review	2
3. Pair introductions	15

4. Explanation of macro-analysis and group questions	5
5. Brainstorming on expectations and goals	5
6. Planning the next session	5
7. Convenor's comments	5
Total:	40 minutes

Beginning with the first item on the agenda, the convenor introduces herself briefly and then explains that this class will be an experiment in using macro-analysis techniques to help the class have meaningful discussions. After reading quickly through the agenda, the convenor has everyone sit by a partner whom she does not know very well. They are then given three minutes to ask questions to each other in pairs, after which each member introduces her partner to the group. It is often helpful if the convenor suggests a few questions for everyone to ask each other, and has them think of others on their own. It is also useful to give a signal after a minute and a half so that partners can switch, to let each have equal time for asking questions. The convenor also pairs up with someone for this exercise. These introductions are designed to be an ice breaker to help members get acquainted and to relax using English together. The convenor then goes on to explain macro-analysis, giving everyone a copy of some introductory information from the handbook mentioned above to be read carefully at home (Jacobs, et al., 1975: 8-13). Emphasis is placed on the importance of sharing opinions on the topics discussed in a democratic way, and it is stressed that each member of the group has a big responsibility for making the class a success. After explaining that brainstorming is a way of gathering many ideas from the whole group as quickly as possible without discussion of each idea, the convenor goes on to item 5 on the agenda. Emphasising that in brainstorming no idea is unacceptable, no matter how trivial, impractical or even foolish it may seem, the convenor asks students to share their ideas about their expectations and goals for this class, and makes a list of the things mentioned on a wall chart. She then proposes that the next session focus on a sharing of the main issues and problems that each of us faces today. The assignment might read as follows: 1. Read the reprinted explanation of macro-analysis and be prepared to ask questions about it. 2. Make a list of at least three of the biggest problems or issues that you face today in each of three areas: a) your personal and family life, b) your school life and c) the society in which we live. 3. Bring a background material in English, such as a newspaper or magazine article, tape recording, etc., for at least one of these problems or issues which may be used as a basis for future class discussions. Time is reserved at the end of the session for the convenor's comments. This time is useful for correcting English mistakes, awkward usage, poor choices of words and the like that students have made during the course of the session that it would not have been appropriate to interrupt the discussion to correct earlier. This time may also be used to make comments about the general conduct of the class, or about the topic at hand.

The following is a sample agenda for the second session:

Agenda

1. Excitement sharing	5 minutes
2. Agenda review	1
3. Choosing an assistant facilitator for this, and another for the next session	1
4. Explanation and questions on macro-analysis	5

5. Brainstorming on the issues and problems we face today	15
6. Planning the next session	5
7. Convenor's comments	8
Total:	40 minutes

Items 1, 2 and 3 on this agenda will be repeated at each subsequent session. The few minutes of excitement sharing, in which a few members of the group are encouraged to tell about something interesting that has happened to them recently, helps everyone to relax and builds a good group atmosphere. The agenda review allows for changes to be made at the suggestion of someone in the group if it seems advisable. It is useful to choose the next assistant facilitator early in the session so that she can observe the group process carefully in order to be an effective facilitator in the next one. In the second session only, two assistants must be chosen, one for this session and one for the next. After these preliminaries, the convenor, acting as facilitator, goes on to items 4 and makes further explanation of the purpose and process of macro-analysis in this class, and answers students' questions. The group is then ready to go on to the main focus of the day's agenda and begin a brainstorming session on the problems and issues of major concern to its members, with the recorder writing the ideas in note form on three separate wall charts, one labelled PERSONAL AND FAMILY ISSUES, another SCHOOL ISSUES and the third SOCIAL ISSUES. Then on the basis of this the convenor goes on to help the group plan a discussion topic for the following week based on one of these issues, and select a background reading or other material to be studied by everyone before the next session. It is advisable, unless the group is extremely competent in English and experienced in this kind of discussion, to choose topics from areas of personal and family issues and school issues for the first few weeks. As topics in these areas are closer to students' daily lives they will find it relatively easy to express their ideas and opinions about them, whereas broader social issues are topics which they may not be accustomed to discussing even in their own language.[5] Because it is not always possible between one session and the next to find suitable background materials on which to base discussions, students should be required to bring to each session at least one background material that might be used in future sessions so that a collection of these materials is always available to draw upon.

Subsequent sessions will go on to focus on various ones of these issues the group has listed, as well as others they may choose later, with the aim of reaching some kind of group consensus at each session. The same basic procedures described above will be used in each session, with the students taking the roles of facilitator and assistant facilitator, leaving the teacher free to correct English mistakes, use the blackboard to provide necessary expressions and vocabulary, and make comments and suggestions as a member of the group rather than as a discussion leader.

Below is the agenda for one session which two advanced classes held on the problems of working women in Japanese society:

Agenda

1. Excitement sharing	5 minutes
2. Agenda review	1
3. Choosing the assistant facilitator for the next week	1
4. Discussion: Working women in Japan – the problems they face	20

5. Planning the next session	5
6. Convenor's comments	8
Total:	40 minutes

The groundwork for this session had been laid the week before by holding a brainstorming session on the aspects of the issue of women working in Japan. Those aspects that the group wanted to pursue were noted by the recorder for use in the subsequent session. The following are the notes from those preparatory brainstorming sessions, taken from the two separate classes:

Class A: **Women Working in Japan**

- Why do women quit work when they marry?
- What kind of jobs can women have?
- Which is the best way for the child, for the mother to be always with him or not?
- What kind of jobs are good for married women (for the job itself and for the woman herself)?
- Why do companies make women quit?
- Why don't Japanese men help their wives?
- Why is there any difference between men and women in the speed of promotion in a company?

Class B: **Working Women**

- What should the husband do to help?
- How do you bring up children and have a job?
- How to choose a job that you can do all your life.
- What does this society demand of working women?
- What should you do to do your job and your

housework smoothly?
- Which is more important, having a job or being married?
- Inequality between men and women in professions.

During the discussion time of the next class session (noted on the "Agenda" above), the notes taken in the preparatory session were pursued and a new set of notes taken, which are shown below:

Class A: Why do few women have equal status with men in the business, professional and political worlds of Japan?

- Not so many women have careers because of tradition. Marriage.
- The traditional work at home is important.
- Women want to have careers outside the home.
- The problem becomes a conflict of feelings.
- Many girls study literature, music, and art at college. Literature (or music or art) is for girls (emotional).
- Not so many women have leadership at work.
- Women do not have equal opportunities at work: wages, time of retirement (prejudice).
- Companies (men) do not employ women.
- Women should not give up their jobs in spite of the problems.

Class B: 1. The basic differences between men and women

a. psychological differences
b. Women bear children.
c. Women have delicate sensibilities.
d. physical strength

   e. physical attractiveness
   f. awareness of details (women)
   g. (men) think roughly

2. What efforts do women have to make to overcome these differences?
   a. Women have to have an understanding with their husbands.
   b. We women have to use our strong points in our jobs (such as awareness of details, delicate sensibilities).
   c. We women need not conceal our weak points, and we need not overwork.
   d. Women must not put on an air of ignorance, which has been believed to be a virtue.
   e. We must change family relationships.
   f. Education can change men's and women's psychology.

3. If something happens in the family, what does she do?
   a. All the members of her family must make an effort to overcome the problem.
   b. cooperation with men
   c. All the members of the family have to understand the essence of the problem.
   d. Community helps them financially.
   e. Try to make a comfortable life.

These rough notes give only a very general picture of what was actually discussed in these two classes, and represent only a sample of the structure that sessions may take and the topics that can be undertaken.

In conclusion, the benefits of group evaluation should be mentioned. Although it is too time-consuming to have a group evaluation at the end of each session as is recommended (Jacobs, et al., 1975), this writer has found that holding evaluations from time to time improves the quality of sessions. The last session at the end of each semester has been devoted to evaluation of all sessions and to evaluation of the use of macro-analysis. These evaluations have provided information and suggestions which have been useful in planning subsequent seminars. The following conclusions are based on these evaluation sessions and on this writer's observations.

EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although further experimentation with the process of using macro-analysis techniques in teaching English is needed, a tentative conclusion may be drawn that this application of these techniques not only presents students with a new model *for* and valuable experience *in* participating in a democratic discussion in English, but that it also builds on elements already present in Japanese culture, giving the process some positive outcomes that might not occur in a similar seminar made up of non-Japanese members. This writer is fully aware of the limitations in using the classroom as a place to train homogeneous groups of Japanese students to participate effectively in the kind of democratic discussion which is a basic and integral part of the culture of native English speakers. Nevertheless, she believes that classes based on macro-analysis techniques provide students with a valuable first step in developing their English communication skills in this direction.

Macro-analysis techniques provide students with an opportunity to discuss issues of interest to them in an open and democratic way that seldom seems provided on any level of the Japanese educational system. In evaluating the process, students who have been in groups composed of more than one grade level have said they found it a satisfying experience to talk together without having to be conscious of their relative grade levels as they are when they speak Japanese. For this reason there seems to be a more stimulating atmosphere in classes of mixed grade levels than in leveled classes.

It is certainly not easy to develop good facilitator role skills, but Japanese students often display some valuable abilities in this area that more individualistic native speakers of English tend to lack. A good facilitator must know how to encourage the expression of various opinions in a group and help to synthesise these views into a conclusion which is acceptable to the group. Japanese tend to have a highly developed sensitivity toward the thoughts and feelings of others and are well trained in cooperating and working together in a group. These qualities are useful skills for a facilitator because they help her to know when and to whom to direct certain questions in order to further advance the discussion, and to incorporate the various views expressed into a group consensus. The other side of this coin is, of course, that Japanese tend to rely too much on a leader. It is difficult for them to develop the habit of volunteering their opinions when it seems appropriate. There is also a tendency toward expressing a false consensus that is not really an expression of the ideas of the whole group. The teacher, as convenor, must strike a delicate balance between providing too much leadership, which students tend to readily relinquish to a teacher, and not enough. The convenor has a vital role to play not only in helping students to improve their ability to express themselves in English, in such ways as correcting mistakes and providing useful words and expressions, but also in other areas, such as helping plan future class sessions, helping to focus topics suggested by students, and providing relevant reading and other background materials. In addition, the convenor can greatly enrich discussions by expressing opinions from her own viewpoint as someone older whose experience is different from that of students, and if she is not Japanese, as someone with a different cultural perspective.

Experience has shown that macro-analysis works best in classes of about 10 to 15, and certainly not more than 20 students. This would no doubt be true for a group of any cultural background, but an observation by Nakane throws some interesting light on why this is true in a group of Japanese. She notes that Japanese groups seem to function most smoothly if they are made of about 10 members with no significant differences in economic and social status (Nakane, 1970: 144). This probably helps to account for the success found in teaching small homogeneous groups. Interestingly, though, as noted above, students have frequently pointed out in evaluation sessions that they have found it valuable to have students of different grade levels in the same group, and have commented that their discussions would have been more lively and interesting if the groups were more homogeneous. For this reason it would be desirable to have students from various college departments in each group if possible. The next step beyond this is for students to transfer their newly acquired discussion skills outside the classroom to broader-based groups made up of a wider variety of participants of different ages, sexes and academic and cultural backgrounds. Based on her experience in teaching Japanese students and being a participant in English discussion groups in which Japanese take part, this writer believes that without the experience of participating discussions in this kind of broad-based group a Japanese will find it difficult if not impossible to develop the kind of skills necessary to bridge the culture gap outlined in the beginning of this paper, and learn to participate constructively in a truly democratic discussion.

Finally, an evaluation should be made of the use of the procedures unique to macro-analysis in the English classroom.

1. Excitement sharing at the beginning of each session seems useful in creating a relaxed mood and a positive atmosphere in the group. Again, Nakane's observation on the importance of "relaxed and informal talk" (Nakane, 1970: 144) at the beginning of a group meeting of Japanese would indicate that this technique is not a foreign import to Japan, and therefore it is a practice that students should be able to accept easily and carry out. The only difficulty found here has been getting students to share something voluntarily, rather than waiting to be asked.

2. Posting an agenda where everyone can see it, and reviewing it quickly at the beginning of each session is a good way of giving everyone a clear idea of how the session will be spent.

3. Brainstorming is a useful way of getting an idea of the range of ideas or opinions on one issue in a short time. It is particularly useful to keep the notes taken in brainstorming sessions to be referred to in later sessions.

4. Taking notes on wall charts is a way of ensuring that everyone can follow the thread of the discussion. It helps students in remembering new words and phrases they have heard. Care should be taken that attention be focused primarily on the discussion itself, rather than on the note-taking, and that the process of note-taking does not slow down the discussion. Students often have difficulty in capturing the main points of the discussion in a few brief notes, and are often worried about making embarrassing mistakes in grammar or spelling. The convenor should stress that the notes are intended to serve as a guide in discussion, and in planning future session, and that the ideas themselves are more important than the way in which they are written. She should also keep a felt pen handy to quickly and unobtrusively correct grammar and spelling mistakes.

5. Macro-analysis seminars are usually designed to depend on a very demanding reading list. In the English class it is often difficult to prepare good reading materials ahead of time, since the topics tend to be varied, and there is usually little time after a topic has been selected to search for and distribute appropriate readings. It is advisable to select topics far enough in advance so that at least one good basic background reading on the topic can be provided for everyone to read as homework before each session. Ideally there should also be other readings that could be assigned to one or two reporters before each session, but this is often difficult, and in a 40-minute session there is often not adequate time for a reporter to report and still have a good group discussion.

6. Macro-analysis seminars are usually planned for three-hour sessions. Most English classes are not that long, so the sessions must be telescoped into a shorter time. There is often just not enough time to have good reports on background material, good discussion that leads to some conclusions, and then enough time for adequate comments from the teacher. The challenge is to strike a balance so that none of these things is consistently sacrificed for lack of time.

CONCLUSION

Adapting macro-analysis techniques to the teaching of oral English expression to intermediate and advanced students makes it possible not only to teach basic language but also to give students valuable experience in participating constructively in a goal-oriented discussion in English. While students' progress in these areas is difficult to measure, this writer believes that in teaching by the method described in this paper she achieves some measure of success in several areas. First, students' ability to express themselves in English improves. Not only do they learn to avoid using certain ungrammatical or awkward constructions, and learn new vocabulary and expressions related to areas of their own interest, but they also improve in their ability to formulate their ideas and express their opinions articulately to the group. Learning new information about topics of interest through the medium of English in this way provides valuable training in thinking in English, and should lead to discovery of new ways to formualte and express ideas, and to analyse problems. Lastly, it is hoped that this method of teaching provides students with the incentive to follow up on issues discussed and other new ones through further reading, study and discussion.

There is much that remains to be investigated and experimented with in the area of teaching people how to overcome the barriers to communication caused by cultural differences. It is hoped that the kind of training described in this paper can be improved upon in the future in such ways as alloting more time for each session, providing a greater variety of background materials on a wide range of topics to be used as a basis for discussion, and having more heterogeneous groups. It is hoped that this report might serve as a starting point for further investigation and experimentation in the field of intercultural communication.

NOTES

1. Japanese names are cited with the family name first.

2. While these conventions and attitudes may vary to some extent in different part of the English-speaking world, this paper will confine itself to a consideration of the American society with which the writer is most familiar.

3. For more detail see Jacobs, et al., 1975, pp. 6-13.

4. In this paper the feminine pronoun is used, since the classes described were composed entirely of women.

5. Discussion of such things as social and political issues, which is not only acceptable but the norm among English-speaking people, is much less common among Japanese, particularly when the topic is controversial and the group a heterogeneous one. (See p.51)

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SENTENCE COMBINING AND THE TEACHING OF WRITING IN THE ESL/FL CLASSROOM: THEORY, RESEARCH AND PRACTICE*

Ian Shortreed
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Abstract

Over the past ten years, sentence combining has become a standard fixture in native speaker high school and university writing programs. Its popularity is evidenced by the enormous number of research studies, scholarly articles in academic journals and classroom textbooks specifically devoted to its use. This paper provides an overview of the theory, research and practice of sentence combining and its application to college level writing programs for ESL/FL students.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the early 60's, as more and more studies began questioning the pedagogical value of teaching formal and structural grammar in relation to writing, educators sought alternate methods for teaching grammar in the composition classroom

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(see, e.g., Braddock et al. 1963 and Zamel 1976). With the advent of the "Chomskian Revolution" in linguistics, a number of research studies appeared claiming that transformational grammar had been successfully used as a method of instruction in elementary school writing programs (Bateman and Zidonis 1966; Mellon 1969). A further refinement of these earlier studies came when O'Hare (1973) discovered that greater overall syntactic proficiency could be achieved by dispensing with the formal instruction of transformational grammar and instead employing cued or signalled pattern drills in conjunction with sentences that had been reduced to their 'kernel' or deep structure form:

A. SOMETHING is illogical.
Man believes SOMETHING. (IT-FOR-TO)
Only this tiny earth possesses the conditions. (THAT)
The conditions have made life possible. (WHICH/THAT)
B. It is illogical for man to believe that only this tiny earth possesses the conditions which have made life possible (p. 86).[1]

The theoretical rationale behind sentence combining is that it allows a student the opportunity to manipulate syntax without having to contend with some of the other creative aspects involved in the composing process. In other words, the cognitive load is being decreased in order to emphasise one specific skill essential to learning how to write in either a first or second language. Some proponents of sentence combining argue that this can facilitate the production of sentences to such an extent that it frees up mental energy for other aspects of the composing process. Stotsky (1975), in her comprehensive review of the literature on sentence combining, suggests then when she writes:

> . . . .the practice of playing mentally and operationally with syntactic structures leads to a kind of automatization of syntactic skills such that mental energy is freed in a Brunnerian sense to concentrate on greater elaboration

of intention and meaning. (p. 37)

A further attraction of sentence combining that both O'Hare (1973) and Ney (1981) have pointed out is that it necessitates the actual 'chunking' of language. As a student learns to embed an increasing number of kernel sentences, the ability to recall and decode more complex information grows correspondingly. This ability to chunk information is also extremely important when a second language learner is developing both reading and listening skills. A number of recent studies have reported that sentence combining practice helped improve these two related language skills in addition to developing greater syntactic maturity in writing (Straw and Schreiner 1982). Other researchers have accounted for this by making an even bolder claim that sentence combining may actually accelerate cognitive growth and thus have a positive effect on all areas of language learning (Hunt 1970/1977; Suhor 1978; Ney 1980b).

One of the most important theoretical assumptions underlying sentence combining is that a student can "test his answers against his own sense of grammaticality" (O'Hare 1973). For a native speaker, of course, this is possible; however, for a non-native speaker of English, sentence combining practice must be gaged to the students' level of competence. As Vivian Zamel (1980) has observed, an ESL/FL student may not possess the linguistic repertoire or "key concepts relating to the grammar of the sentence" to benefit from sentence combining practice. She goes on to advocate the use of traditional grammar instruction so as to provide a conceptual framework within which students may analyze and discuss the different sentences they create when doing these exercises. While this may be necessary for lower level learners (see, e.g., Terdy 1980), intermediate and advanced ESL/FL students usually enter college level writing classes with many years of formal grammar instruction already behind them. Examination of the extent of grammar instruction in foreign countries where English is taught as a second language and related scores on standard ESL proficiency tests indicate that the vast majority of these students do not need to learn more 'back-to-basics' grammatical nomenclature, but rather how to intuitively employ the grammar they have previously studied when faced with the task of writing in a second language (Farhady 1982). And this is why sentence combining can be such a productive method of instruction in an ESL/FL writing program.

RESEARCH ON SENTENCE COMBINING IN ESL/FL INSTRUCTION

Although there is still substantial debate over whether sentence combining improves overall writing quality and in turn, how this can be quantitatively evaluated, there is now at least some agreement among researchers and teachers that sentence combining does have a positive effect on students' writing. Numerous studies, including those by Mellon (1969), O'Hare (1973), Combs (1976), and Daiker, Morenburg and Kerek (1978), have provided a sound theoretical basis for the application of sentence combining practice in the composition classroom. In contrast with these studies which specifically dealt with native English speakers, the research on the use of sentence combining in the ESL/FL classroom is surprisingly limited. With the exception of earlier studies by Crymes (1971), Akin (1975), Cooper (1976), Klassen (1976), and Monroe (1968) which all reported positive results from sentence combining practice in ESL/FL high school and college writing courses, there are only two major studies which have explored the effects of sentence combining on the writing of ESL or foreign language students.[2]

The first of these by Cooper, Morain and Kalivoda (1978/

1980), reported on an experimental sentence combining program involving 325 American foreign language students studying French, German and Spanish at the University of Georgia. The experimental groups in all three language classes used sentence combining exercises in addition to the regular course work while the control groups engaged in a variety of activities designed to develop all four language skills. The experimental groups which practiced sentence combining showed "significantly higher increases" than the control groups in all three syntactic maturity factors of *Words per Clause, Clauses per T-Unit*, and *Words per T-Unit* when the pre-test and post-test writing samples were compared across all three language courses.[3] The researchers also reported that the post-test scores for each language group remained constant, although students studying German showed slightly higher increases for all three syntactic maturity factors when compared with the scores from the other language classes (French and Spanish).

In an attempt to assess the overall quality of compositions from both the experimental and control groups studying German, nine instructors were asked to evaluate a selection of compositions written on identical themes. An overall mark out of 100 was assigned on the basis of 25% for grammatical and syntactic proficiency and 75% for style which included sentence structure, organization, imagination and word choice. On the basis of these indices of evaluation, 81% of the experimental groups' compositions were chosen as being qualitatively superior to the control groups' compositions. However, no correlation was made between the syntactic maturity scores and the rater preferences. Moreover, compositions from the French and German classes were not subject to this kind of evaluation. Thus, as the researchers themselves concluded, "the relationship between qualitative and quantitative aspects of student writing was investigated to a limited degree" (Cooper 1981:162).

One of the most interesting findings of this study was that a correlation between increased syntactic maturity in writing and speaking was observed in the experimental groups across all three languages studied, whereas the control groups showed much less improvement when oral pre-test and post-test samples were compared (taped LL exercises were used as a basis for evaluation). As was pointed out earlier, other studies have found a similar correlation between greater syntactic maturity in writing and improved reading and listening skills as a result of sentence combining practice. Although there is obviously a transfer of such inter-related skills, regardless of what method of instruction is used in the classroom, it would seem that sentence combining may facilitate an even greater transfer of both productive and receptive skills. However, much more research is required in this area before any definitive conclusions can be drawn.

A second major study by Ney and Fillerup (1980) partially confirmed Cooper's et al. results, but differed in a number of its findings. The experimental and control groups consisted of 24 ESL students in an 8-week freshman English course at Arizona State University. The experimental group was given sentence combining exercises in addition to the regular course work covered by the control group. The control group's syllabus consisted of a wide variety of activities including free writing, the study of English paragraph structure and formal analysis of rhetorical devices. Even though the experimental group practiced sentence combining for only 10 hours out of the total classroom time (homework assignments were included), Ney and Fillerup found a "statistically significant improvement in their writing" compared to the control group, which showed a decrement in their scores in all three factors of syntactic maturity. In contrast to Ney's (1976) earlier study of an experimental sentence combining program with native speaker college freshmen where he found that sentence combining had a negligible effect, this study suggested that the age/grade/ syntactic competence hypothesis contested by Daiker, Morenburg and Kerek (1978) was in fact confirmed. Daiker et al. argued that Ney had devoted insufficient classroom time for sentence combining practice to expect significant results while Ney contended that the failure of the study could be accounted for by the higher syntactic competence of the experimental and control groups:

> . . . .the most plausible explanation for the difference in the results of the two studies is that the subjects in the 1976 study were native speakers of English and hence, had a higher level of syntactic competence at the outset and did not progress from this level while the subjects in this study had a relatively low level of competence in English and hence progressed quite considerably in their command of English structures. (1980:20)

Unlike Cooper's et al. study, however, Ney and Fillerup reported that when compositions written on identical themes by both the experimental and control groups were evaluated by three different instructors, the control group's compositions were found to be of better overall quality on the basis of the organization, content and the variety of rhetorical devices used. This finding supports the position taken by numerous sentence combining critics such as Christensen (1968), Moffett (1968), Marzano (1976), Zamel (1980), and Crowhurst (1982), that sentence combining may be beneficial if accompanied by instruction on other aspects of the composing process. This seems to be especially true in relation to teaching composition in the ESL/FL classroom where students not only face the difficult task of mastering the syntax of a second language but also the equally difficult challenge of writing under the constraints of culturally determined patterns of discourse and rhetorical organization which may differ radically from their native languages

(Kaplan 1972).[4] Thus, the ESL/FL teacher must employ sentence combining as part of an overall curriculum where various methods of instruction are used. William Strong (1976) has also argued for a similar kind of eclectic approach and puts this debate in its proper perspective when he writes:

> The most appropriate context for sentence combining is as a skill-building adjunct to regular composition work. In no sense, then, is sentence combining a comprehensive writing program in and of itself. It can be a part of a well-articulated program, but common sense suggests that it can't be the one and only instructional strategy. . . . The strategy is not an end in itself. It's a means to an end. And the end is increased linguistic flexibility and increased independence in free writing. (p. 61)

In comparing these two studies, a number of methodological questions arise which pertain to the research on sentence combining in general. Cooper's et al. findings seem much more acceptable simply because of the comparative size of the study and the greater number of writing samples that were evaluated. Furthermore, the teacher variable in Cooper's et al. study was much more closely monitored since more instructors were involved and each taught a control and experimental class. Differences in teaching styles and lack of consistency in evaluation are two variables that have to be taken into consideration when conducting and analyzing research on sentence combining. The latter is especially important when judging overall writing quality. This is the main reason why T-Unit analysis, despite its inherent drawbacks, remains as one of the criteria for evaluating writing.[5]

PRACTICAL APPLICATION IN THE ESL/FL CLASSROOM

Sentence combining exercises should progress from simpler signalled drills to more open exercises without signalling.

These signalled drills, or what Kameen (1978) has called 'mechanical exercises,' can be used in the first few classes to introduce students to the general procedure of sentence combining. In these introductory exercises it is advisable to restrict the possible combinations of kernel sentences to a single answer:

> COMBINE THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES INTO ONE SENTENCE:
> 1. Mary always makes herself a delicious dinner. (AND)
> 2. She finishes it with a tasty coffee. (BUT)
> 3. She never cooks anything for her husband.
>
> A. ____
>
> ____

These simple exercises are designed to build up student confidence and prepare them for more difficult exercises. This second type of exercise should be less controlled, have fewer signals and allow for a greater variety of combinations. In order to ensure that students understand the rhetorical options available for expressing a specific idea, they should be encouraged to discover as many combinations as possible rather than seeking out only one correct answer. To facilitate this process, students can work in small groups with individuals orally reading their answers and then, discussing the various ways to combine the sentences to achieve different stylistic effects (first or second language may be used depending on the teaching environment and level of the students). For most ESL/FL students, the selection of one possible combination over another is an extremely difficult task, at least at the initial stages of doing sentence combining. However, as students begin to employ a greater number of grammatical structures, they will also increasingly rely on their intuitive rather than conscious decision-making abilities. As most writers will testify, it is this latter element that is so important to the kind of internal dialogue that eventually transpires during the actual composing process. A greater number of kernel sentences can be presented at this point to demonstrate the importance of context as a criterion for selecting an appropriate sentence:

COMBINE THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES IN AS MANY DIFFERENT WAYS AS POSSIBLE:

1. The ferry pushed on.
2. It went towards the island.
3. The name of the island is Hornby.
4. It went through the waters.
5. The waters were rough.
6. The boat did SOMETHING.
7. It went up and down.
8. It went up and down again.
9. It did this as it moved.
10. The moving was across the waters.

A. The ferry pushed on through the rough waters . . . .
B. Pushing on through the rough waters, the ferry went. . .
C. The ferry, pushing on through the rough waters, went. .

Once students have learned to manipulate a variety of grammatical structures, longer passages of whole discourse can be introduced. These exercises present the student with even greater options for combining or even writing out entire paragraphs. At this stage, students should be working well beyond the sentence level by recombining, reorganizing and revising the sentences into a finished paragraph or composition without the aid of signals. Well-known literary works (see, e.g., Stulls [1983] new textbook), magazine articles or even student compositions can either be reduced to kernel sentences or students can do this themselves by breaking down and analyzing a piece of writing. Once again, students may discuss the possible ways they can organize, combine or even delete sentences to achieve the best stylistic effect.[6] With students working in groups, the teacher can circulate around the classroom counselling groups on questions they may have with their assignments. To ensure the maximum use of classroom time, students should be assigned exercises for homework prior to the next class meeting.

The actual amount of time devoted to sentence combining practice in the classroom should be left to the instructor's own discretion. Usually with these longer and more complex exercises, one exercise is more than enough material for one class meeting. By the time students have discussed their answers and perhaps even written them on the blackboard (overhead projector can also be used), 20 to 30 minutes will have expired. Both Daiker's et al. (1982) and William Strong's (1973) sentence combining textbooks primarily employ these kinds of exercises:

> COMBINE AND ORGANIZE THE FOLLOWING INTO A SHORT STORY:
>
> 1. The singer was young.
> 2. He stepped into the spotlight.
> 3. The singer was swarthy.
> 4. The spotlight was red.
> 5. His shirt was unbuttoned.
> 6. The unbuttoning barred his chest.
> 7. Sounds ballooned around him.
> 8. The sounds were of guitars.
> 9. The sounds were of drums.
> 10. The sounds were of girls.
> 11. The girls were screaming.
> 12. . . . . etc. (Strong 1973:40)

VARIATION A: The swarthy young singer stepped into the red spotlight with his unbuttoned shirt barring his chest. The sounds of guitars, drums and screaming girls ballooned around him. . . . . etc.

VARIATION B: Stepping into the red spotlight, the swarthy young singer . . . . etc.

VARIATION C: As the sounds of guitars, drums and screaming girls ballooned around him, the swarthy young singer . . . . etc.

CLASSROOM MATERIALS: DESIGNING SENTENCE COMBINING EXERCISES FOR THE ESL/FL CLASSROOM

Because of the complexity of the vocabulary and dense cultural content found in many of the currently available sentence combining textbooks, an instructor must either simplify these native speaker materials (Strong; Daiker et al.; Stull; op. cit.) by providing a lower level of vocabulary, or write entirely new sentence combining exercises that assume a level of competence appropriate for ESL/FL students. Another option, of course, would be to use one of the three ESL/FL sentence combining textbooks (Gallingane and Byrd 1977/1979; Pack and Henrichsen 1980; Bander 1982). However, assuming that instructors may want to design their own materials, an important question arises on the most effective way of sequencing grammatical structures for a sentence combining program.

Cooper (1973), Davidson (1977), Kleen (1980), Smith (1981) and Lawlor (1981) have provided specifications for sequencing sentence combining exercises on the basis of developmental and child language acquisition studies (see, e.g., Hunt 1965; O'Donnell 1967; Brown 1975). The overall rationale for sequencing grammatical instruction has been based on the assumption that syntactic maturity may be accelerated if sentence combining exercises were patterned to follow the natural sequence in which grammatical structures are acquired by a native speaker. Since recent studies on second language acquisition have pointed out that first and second language learners resort to similar strategies when acquiring a language, this rationale for sequencing sentence combining exercises seems to be theoretically sound (Ervin-Tripp 1974; Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1982). However, the practical application of this to the ESL/FL classroom is somewhat more difficult because of the varying levels of student competence in one class/group. Krashen (1981), for example, has opposed the adoption of a grammatically sequenced syllabi for just this reason. Instead, he suggests that second language learners need to be challenged by the materials they study in order for 'acquisition' to occur as opposed to passive 'learning.' Krashen's model of i+l sequencing (previously acquired [i] and additional structure/content [+l]) would mean that a grammatical structure could be introduced even though a learner may not have the requisite competence to immediately identify the rules that generated a new surface structure. In the case of a sentence combining problem where the relative pronoun is deleted, according to Krashen's model of sequencing, a student should be able to infer the deletion rule through sentence combining problems involving the same transformation (signalling may be used to generate a more complex grammatical form which might otherwise be ignored, e.g., *Hint: Don't use who/which*).

A second criterion which Lawlor (1981) has used for sequencing sentence combining exercises is the derivational complexity (DTC) of a grammatical structure. In generative grammar (TG), a grammatical structure is derived from an underlying or deep structure by a series of transformations. The relative clause is derivationally simpler than a prenominal adjective because the latter is in fact derived from the former (two additional transformations are required to arrive at the surface structure of a prenominal adjective from a relative construction). In TG theory, an acquisition hierarchy can be determined by comparing the derivational complexity of all grammatical structures within any given language (e.g., the greater the number of transformations involved in arriving at a specific grammatical form, the more difficult the acquisition process). However, by adopting a grammatical syllabus on the basis of DTC, grammatical structures that have been reported in both first and second language acquisition studies as being acquired comparatively late would be introduced prior to structures that have been reported to be mastered relatively early in the acquisition process. Lawlor, for example, introduces the relative clause in his sentence combining materials long before the prenominal adjective, but on the basis of acquisition studies, the prenominal adjective is mastered much sooner than the relative clause (Bowerman 1979). The validity of sequencing a grammatical syllabus solely on the basis of DTC seems to be highly doubtful in light of these findings (see, e.g., Fodor, Beaver and Garrett 1974).

A more practical alternative for sequencing sentence combining exercises is perhaps best arrived at by working from both Davidson's (1976) index of the most frequently used grammatical structures in college level compositions and an approximate order of sequencing based on the language acquisition literature. To these two criteria we add a third: our own experience of writing and using sentence combining exercises in the ESL/FL classroom, while also having observed the difficulties students have with specific structures. A suggested order of sequencing sentence combining exercises, commencing from simpler to progressively more complex structures, is given below:

Group 1

a) Coordinating Connectives (and, but, so, for, or, etc.)
b) Prenominal Adjectives (the red car; the rich creamy coffee)
c) Adverbs (the man slowly ran to. . .; the man ran slowly to . . ., etc.)

Group 2

a) Prepositional Phrases (with, in, on, at, over, etc.)
b) Relative Clauses (that, which, when, where, who, whom)
c) Subordinate Clauses (if, when, while, because, although, since, as, etc.)

Group 3

a) Participial Phrases (Walking out of the restaurant, Peter left a half-eaten hamburger on the table.)
b) Appositives and Adjective Phrases (John, a good friend of mine, . . . etc.)
c) Absolute Phrases (I sat motionless, looking around the room, . . . etc.)

Group 4

a) Infinitive Phrases (The emperor's dream was to build a wall . . . etc.)
b) Gerund Phrases (Studying for exams is never enjoyable . . . etc.)
c) Noun Clauses (What made our decision difficult was the . . . etc.)

When writing sentence combining exercises, usually three or four grammatical structures can be covered in one unit. Grammatical explanations should be brief and the exercises should move well beyond combining two or three sentences as soon as possible. If sentence combining exercises remain only as highly controlled grammar drills where a student is not forced to develop other important composing skills such as revision, deletion and manipulation of entire paragraphs, then its pedagogical value is diminished. In fact, what distinguishes sentence combining from most other forms of grammar instruction, whether they be sentence imitation, cloze exercises or error correction, is that when longer passages of discourse are used, sentence combining practice at least partially replicates (by no means completely) the actual use of grammar during the composing process. With the current interest in the composing process of both native speaker and second language students (see, e.g., Zamel 1982), sentence combining is being increasingly employed as one of the many methods for teaching process skills (W. Smith 1981).

Unfortunately, the currently available sentence combining textbooks for ESL/FL instruction are much too controlled, while also lacking imaginative content. Bander's (1982) new text offers only a few unsignalled exercises and these are restricted to 10 or 12 kernel sentences at the most. The majority of the text is filled with very short combining exercises and accompanied by elaborate grammatical explanations, many of which seem to fill space rather than clarify the grammatical rules being discussed. Pack and Henrichsen's (1980) textbook can be recommended for the variety of exercises presented, however, the content is often dry, providing little incentive for the students to do the exercises. A smaller two-part text (Books 1 & 2) by Gallingane and Byrd (1977, 1979) is perhaps the most interesting from the point of view of providing meaningful content, although the exercises are not developed beyond the paragraph level. William Strong's (1973) text still remains the 'sumum bonum' of sentence combining materials. Since it was written for a native speaker audience, it is difficult to use except with more advanced students, but there are some exercises that can be adapted for intermediate level students if a vocabulary list is provided by the instructor (see Davidson [1977] for suggestions on using this text).

Prior to beginning a course using sentence combining exercises, a short pre-test should be given to establish what grammatical structures require more study. The pre-test can consist of a short story that has been reduced to kernel sentences. Students should be asked to rewrite the story by combining as many kernels as possible. An alternate method would be to assign a short composition in class and then identify problem areas that require special concentration (see Angelis [1975] for more details on this method). Similarly, at the end of the course, a post-test should be given and the results compared with the pre-test in order to ascertain the syntactic proficiency that has been achieved.

NOTES

1. Paradoxically, sentence combining has only recently been introduced into the foreign language classroom even though the actual concept of using cued or signalled grammatical exercises was originally borrowed from audio-lingual methods commonly used in foreign language instruction during the 60's and 70's. See O'Hare (1973) and Ney (1966/1980b) for an historical account of sentence combining.

2. Other studies by Perron (1974), Hunt (1978) and Kaike (1978) have not been included because these studies were more concerned with developmental acquisition of grammatical structures rather than the effects of sentence combining on writing quality.

3. The minimal terminable unit (T-Unit) was first used by Hunt (1965) to diachronically measure the developmental progression in which children acquire specific grammatical structures. A T-Unit is defined as one main clause *plus* any subordinate clause or non-clausal structure attached to or embeddded in a main clause. Other measures that have been used to analyze syntactic complexity are: sentence

length, clause length, ratio of subordinate clauses to total number of words, etc. The three measures of *Words per Clause, Clauses per T-Unit*, and *Words per T-Unit* are the three primary indices used to objectively evaluate writing quality. The following writing sample, taken from Cooper's et al. (1980) study, illustrates the method of calculating syntactic complexity on the basis of the above mentioned indices. Slashes indicate T-Units and underlined portions indicate clauses:

> Even an American may be confused by the number of knives, forks, and spoons beside his plate *when he sits down to a formal dinner*. / It is simple, however: / one should use the utensils in the order *in which they lie*, beginning from the outside; / or one can watch the hostess and do *what she does*. /

This paragraph contains 56 words, 2 sentences, 4 T-Units and 3 subordinate clauses. The three factors of syntactic maturity can be calculated in the following way:

1. *Words per Clause*: total number of words ÷ by total number of clauses, both subordinate and main (56 ÷ 7 = 8.00 wd./cl.).
2. *Clauses per T-Unit*: total number of clauses, both subordinate and main ÷ number of T-Units (7 ÷ 4 = 1.75 cl./T-Unit).
3. *Words per T-Unit*: Words in writing sample (composition) ÷ T-Units in a writing sample (composition) (56 ÷ 4 = 14.00 wd./T-Unit).

When using T-Unit analysis for evaluating the writing quality of ESL/FL compositions, garbles/errors must be accounted for in each of the three indices above. Errors/garbles are considered to be important only when they are communicative, that is, they hinder comprehension to such an extent that the overall meaning of a sentence is not comprehensible (see Ney and Fillerup 1980). Perkins (1980) found that in evaluating compositions written by advanced ESL students only those syntactic maturity factors that could account for errors/garbles were accurate predictors of overall writing quality. On the basis of Perkin's study, the following syntactic maturity factors appear to be accurate indices for predicting overall writing quality in ESL/FL compositions: *Error-free T-Units, Words in error-free T-Units, Errors per T-Unit*, and a cumulative score of all three of these indices. Ney (1966) has argued that *Length of error-free T-Units* is also an accurate predictor of overall writing quality. For further discussion of T-Unit analysis see Gaies (1980) and Larsen-Freeman (1978).

4. Kaplan's classification of discourse patterns according to ethnic background and nationality has been criticized as being highly ethnocentric and lacking analytic precision. Recently, however, a number of contrastive discourse studies have appeared which deserve the attention of ESL/FL writing instructors. Hind's (1980) excellent study of Japanese discourse structures reveals that Kaplan's classifications may provide a basis for more detailed research in this area.

5. The mixed findings of Ney's and Cooper's studies raise the controversial question as to whether syntactic complexity as measured by T-Unit length and clause length is an accurate predictor of composition quality. In reviewing a number of studies that reported mixed findings such as Ney's and Cooper's, Crowhurst (1982) has pointed out that syntactic complexity also depends upon the mode of discourse. In her study of sixth, 10th and 12th graders she found that at grades 10 and 12, "argumentative writing of high syntactic complexity received significantly higher quality scores than argumentative writing of low syntactic complexity, but that narratives of high syntactic complexity did not receive higher quality scores than narratives of low complexity" (p. 13). Since narrative writing is usually stressed more than other modes of writing in ESL/FL composition courses, Crowhurst's findings seem to have particular significance.

6. Kinneavy (1979) has suggested that these kinds of exercises, which usually lead to discussions on a wide variety of topics related to the composing process, may account for the relative success that sentence combining has had in college level writing classes, particularly in Daiker, Morenburg and Kerek's sentence combining program. Similarly, in the ESL/FL classroom, sentence combining can be used as a medium for teaching rhetoric and exploring other aspects of the composing process.

APPENDIX

When writing sentence combining exercises, the following steps may be helpful:

1. Topics, places and people should be 'culturally relevent'.
2. Write out the exercises as if it were a standard piece of writing (e.g., paragraph structure, etc.).
3. Break down the sentences into kernels.
4. Review the grammatical structures included in the exercise.
5. Provide signalling where necessary, especially in introductory and semi-controlled exercises.
6. Make sure the vocabulary level allows for complete semantic understanding (vocabulary list may be included with each exercise).

Introductory Exercises (Controlled): Three or four grammatical structures can be covered in one unit (see, e.g., sequencing order on p. 85).

Adjectives

example: Henry lives in a house.
The house is newly-built.
The house is Japanese. → *Henry lives in newly-built Japanese house.*

(Hint: do not use "and")

1) I like cake best.
The cake is chocolate.
____
____

2) My friend works in a company.
My friend is an American.
The company makes steel.
____
____

3) Students get jobs after graduating.
The jobs are high paying.
____
____

Adverbs

example: I sat down in the hot bath water.
I did it slowly.
It was painful. → *I slowly and painfully sat down in the hot bath water.*

(Hint: do not use "and")

1) She wrote her name on the paper.
She did it quickly.
____
____

2) John can sing.
His singing is good. ____________________
John can dance. ____________________
His dancing is bad.
(but)

3) You should do these exercises.
They should be done quickly. ____________________
But they should also be done correctly. ____________________

Intermediate Exercises (Semi-Controlled): Review all grammatical structures taught in one unit.

"The Invader" game, recently popular in Japan, is really a lot older than you might think . . .

THE INVADER

1) There was a room. (Hint: Try "as he")
It was dark.
It was quiet.
It was empty of people.
He looked in.

2) He decided something.
Now was his best chance to sneak in.

3) He jumped out. (Hint: Try using the "and" in different ways)
He did it from behind the curtain.
It was done bravely.
He rushed towards the table.
It was done silently.
He was hoping the heavy darkness would hide him.

4) He suddenly stopped. (Hint: Try using "and" one time and "–ing –and" one time)
He was under the chair.
He looked around nervously.
He decided it was safe to continue.

5) He climbed.
It was to the top of the table.
He bit hard.
It was into a cake.

to sneak in – 忍び込む

6) He took two nervous bites. (Hint: Try using "but after"
He heard a low voice. one time)

7) He took one more mouthful.
He quickly ran back somewhere.
It was his hiding place.
He chewed quietly as he went.

8) He smiled. (Hint: as, how hard)
It was done at the same time that he thought to himself.
It was about the life of a cockroach.
It is a hard life.

to chew – かみくだす

Advanced Exercises (Open): There should be no signalling in these exercises.

Read and then rewrite this story into a better form. You may change the sentences any way you wish, but try to keep the meaning the same. When you're done you'll know the terrors of . . .

THE 'DEPILATOR'

1) I stood.
2) I didn't move.
3) The door was behind me.
4) It was closed.
5) The walls were on both sides.
6) They were solid and they were silent.
7) He was in front of me.
8) He was looking into my face.
9) His eyes were empty.
10) His eyes grew a smile.
11) The smile came as he realized something.
12) What he realized was that he would soon have all the money I had.
13) I had it in my wallet.
14) I looked at his hands.
15) It was downwards.
16) I saw him take something out.
17) It was a silvery object.

18) It was also sharp.
19) Then he said something.
20) It was "Come over here."
21) His voice was soft and low.
22) I felt three things.
23) One was a feeling of wetness.
24) It was collecting on my forehead.
25) Another was a collapsing feeling.
26) It was my stomach.
27) It felt like a balloon losing air.
28) Another was a shiver of fear.
29) It was in my legs.
30) I knew I couldn't escape.
31) It was impossible by now.
32) I stumbled over to his side.
33) I fell into the chair.
34) I knew that he would soon cut me.
35) But I said something despite my knowledge.
36) I raised my courage.
37) I raised it until it was enough to say something.
38) I said "A little off the sides around my ears."
39) I also said "And shorten the top."
40) Then it began.
41) It was torture.

'depilator' – read the story and figure it out
solid – 固い
collapsing – くじける
shiver – 寒け
to stumble – よろめき歩く
torture – 責め苦

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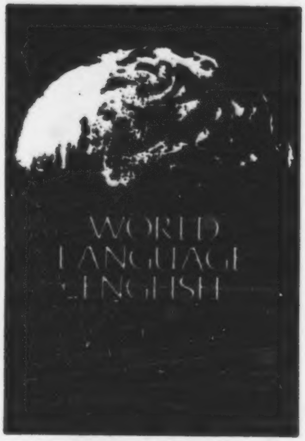

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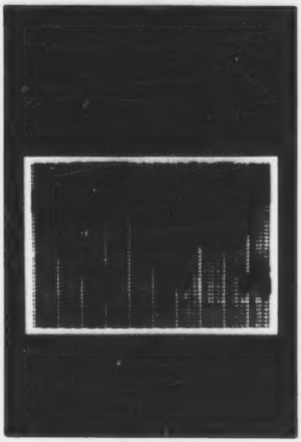

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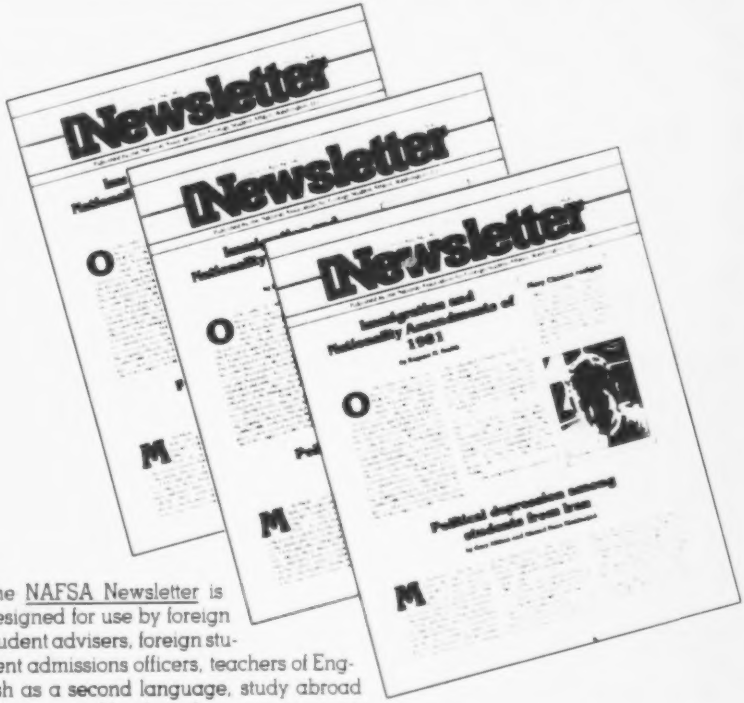

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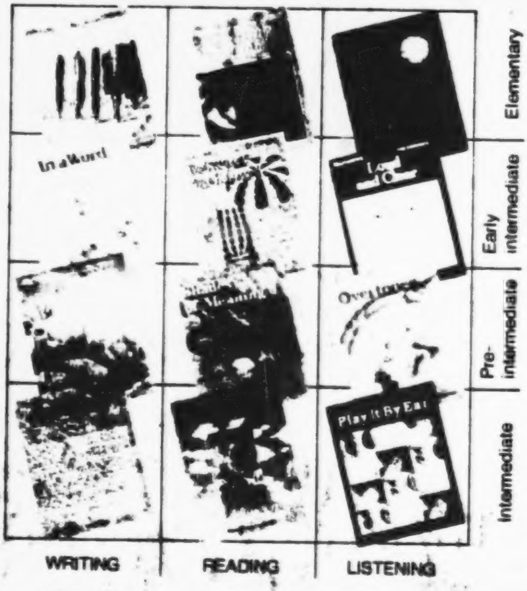

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IN THIS ISSUE

For every reader who wishes we would include more practice-centered articles in each issue, there is another reader supporting inclusion of more academic or theoretical papers. This issue, with contributions on error analysis, test evaluation, international communication, writing research, and classroom technique, reflects also a range of interests in those who have submitted their work to be read.

*William Bryant pursues an illuminating discussion of interlingual errors made by Japanese students of English. Based on data from 200 essays, his analysis highlights typical errors in morphology, syntax, semantics, and style and attempts to account for the occurrence of these errors.

*Mary Heise investigates whether or not the Nelson-Denny Reading Test is an appropriate measure of foreign students' ability to compete with American students in the area of reading. She concludes from the results of an experimental study that this test should not be used as a factor in college admission nor as a predictive indicator for non-native speakers of English.

*Teruyuki Kume reports on his study of the Nagoya and Seoul bids for the 1988 Olympics. He gives a detailed analysis of the events which comprised this salient example of international persuasion and communication.

*Ho-Peng Lim starts with an overview of writing research in English as L1 and moves to an examination of ESL writing research. He emphasizes writing proficiency as a major prerequisite for university study and calls for more research in this area.

*Masayo Yamamoto explores the possibility of sign language as a classroom technique for language teaching. She proposes this activity as one that may reduce dependence on the native language and enable the student to kinetically encode the new language.

*In the *Reviews* section Graham Thurgood takes an insightful look at Earl Stevick's *Teaching and Learning Languages*.

We hope this May issue is a pleasant surprise in your mailbox.

Donna Brigman
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TYPICAL ERRORS IN ENGLISH MADE BY JAPANESE ESL STUDENTS

William H. Bryant

Abstract

There are several kinds of errors in English which Japanese ESL students often make: 1) interlingual (i.e., mother-tongue, or L1) errors; and 2) intralingual (or L2) errors, which are usually the result of misinterpretation and of syntact overgeneralization. While most errors committed are L2 errors, it is the L1 errors which most hinder communication. Based on a survey of L1 and L2 errors contained in some 200 English essays written by Japanese ESL students, the present study seeks to identify those English structures (morphological, syntactic, semantic, and stylistic) which present special difficulties for Japanese ESL students.

The grammatical errors which Japanese ESL students usually make in English are typically of several different kinds. Some of those errors are interlingual (i.e., mother-tongue, or L1) errors, the interference arising from an unconscious attempt to transfer to English certain native Japanese structures. Another major type of mistakes made by this group

---

William H. Bryant, Associate Professor of French at Western Washington University in Bellingham, Washington, has been teaching intensive English courses for the past five years, and is the author of a handbook of English composition which concentrates on the writing of argumentative essays and which is due to be published in Japan later this year.

are intralingual (or L2) errors, which are often the result of misinterpretations, and of syntactic overgeneralization (with resultant grammatical simplification) of English grammar rules (Corder, 1967; Selinker, 1969; Richards, 1971a, 1971b). This type of L2 errors is to be distinguished from so-called developmental errors, which the ESL learner would normally make as a native-born, English-speaking child in the course of learning to speak his mother tongue.

While it may be true that the majority – or, at least, many – of the errors committed by ESL learners are L2 errors (Scott and Tucker, 1974), it is nevertheless also true that it is usually the L1 errors which do the most to hinder comprehension and clear communication, and which most confuse the native anglophone listener. This being the case, the primary focus of this paper will be on certain L1 errors frequently made by Japanese ESL students, with only a brief mention of several L2 errors commonly made.

Based upon an analysis of L1 and L2 errors found in some 200 English essays written over a three-year period by different groups of Japanese university students enrolled in our Intensive English summer program at Western Washington University, the present study deals with a broad range of morphological, syntactic, semantic, and stylistic errors made by these students, all of whom had previously studied English for a minimum of six years in Japanese schools. In presenting these findings, it is our aim to identify certain English structures which are, frequently, areas of particular difficulty for Japanese ESL students.

I. Interlingual (L1) Errors

In this section are discussed certain mistakes made in English which would appear to be the result of, and directly traceable to, the intrusion of the mother tongue, Japanese.

Following convention, an asterisk (*) indicates that a specimen sentence is ungrammatical. Corrections are written in superscript italics.

A. Incorrect Omission of Definite and Indefinite Articles

(1) *"Everything is $^{\textit{a}}$ symbol of life or $^{\textit{a}}$ symbol of death. For example, $^{\textit{the}}$ soldier(*s*), $^{\textit{the}}$ sun and $^{\textit{the}}$ cannon, $^{\textit{the}}$ snake, $^{\textit{the}}$ flower(*s*), $^{\textit{the}}$ blood, $^{\textit{the}}$ river, $^{\textit{the}}$ spider, and everything else."

This type of mistake is frequently encountered, especially among Asian and Slavic students, many of whom speak languages in which definite and indefinite articles do not exist. In these languages, the noun stands alone, often being modified only by descriptive and/or limiting adjectives (i.e., possessive adjectives, relative adjectives, interrogative adjectives, demonstrative adjectives, and indefinite adjectives). This is not to say that nouns in English are always and necessarily preceded by definite or indefinite articles. They are not, as is well known. But in the example given above in sentence (1), both types of articles (definite and indefinite) are indeed required modifiers. The indefinite article *a* is used, in this case, to single out a quality, action, object, or individual from among a number of class of similar things. Thus, since there is more than one symbol of life, just as there is more than one symbol of death, the phrase *"Everything is symbol of life or symbol of death" must be corrected to read: "Everything is *a* symbol of life or *a* symbol of death."

The anaphoric definite article *the*, which points back to a thing or person already mentioned, specifies, identifies, and individualizes the various things which serve as symbols of life and death in a film which the student had seen: *the* soldiers, *the* sun, *the* cannon, *the* snake, *the* flowers, *the* (man's) blood, *the* river, and *the* spider. Without these definite and indefinite articles, sentence (1) would be not only grammatically incorrect in English, but also extremely vague and nonspecific, and thus not a adequate linguistic expression for the thought behind it.

B. No Singular/Plural Differentiation

(2) *"(*A*) Few month(*s*) later . . ."

(3) *"I think ^{that} human being (*s*) must live fully."

In sentence (2), it will be seen that the word *month* must be pluralized, that is, must bear the plural "s" since the preceding indefinite adjective *few* modifies only plural nouns in English. Similarly, the indefinite adjectives *some* and *several* also qualify only plural nouns. Sentence (3), on the other hand, presents several different problems. Not only is the subordinating conjunction *that* missing (it being usually necessary, in formal English prose, in order to introduce a subordinate clause), but also the subject of the subordinate clause, *human being*, may be used, with modifiers when necessary, in either the singular or in the plural, depending upon the intended meaning.

If the term *human being* is used in the singular, as in an aphorism, then it must be preceded by the indefinite article *a*. If, on the other hand, the term *human being* is used in the plural, then it will not be preceded by an indefinite article and must, at the same time, be made plural, i.e., *human beings*. Thus, it would be correct to write either of the following sentences:

(4) "I think that a human being must live fully."

(5) "I think that human beings must live fully."

C. Incorrect Inflection of the Verb

(6) *"It seem(*s*) that this film show(*s*) the contrast between life and death."

In this incorrectly written sentence, the writer has failed to attach the proper inflection to the verbs *seem* and *show*. This error is probably due to the fact that the writer apparently temporarily forgot that, in contra-distinction to Japanese, which does not inflect the verb to show person and number, English does indeed do so. This is true especially in the third person singular of the present indicative, with its characteristic verb endings of *-s* and *-es*. Naturally, this does not apply to the modal auxiliaries (*may, might, can, could, shall, should, will, would, must*, and *ought*), which make no distinction at all between persons.

D. Incorrect Verbal Aspect

(7) *"Each things in the film were showing the characteristics of the scene very well."

(8) *"I don't know his mind but I think that he is loving her."

(9) *"He is also playing ping-pong well."

(10) *"A person who is checking hearing aids and inspecting ears is an audiologist."

In these sentences, we have examples of some very common mistakes which Japanese ESL students frequently make in English. With regard to example (7), one can immediately see that, although the use of the past tense of the verb is correct, in this instance the student has used the wrong form of the verb, having chosen the past progressive, rather than the past nonprogressive or simple past form. The problem here is to understand what it is, in the semantic context of this particular sentence, that requires the simple past tense of the verb rather than the past progressive form. Involved here of course, is the question of aspect, which is a verbal category which indicates whether the state or action denoted by the verb is viewed as being momentary and instantaneous, repetitive, or enduring, as being completed or as being in progress and, thus unfinished. Concerning the sentence in question, sentence (7), the main interest lies not in describing the actual duration of the activity, or its incomplete status, but rather in making a simple predication about what each thing in the film did; i.e., show the characteristics of the scenes. To state this fact, and also to indicate that what is important to know is that the activity in question was finished or completed and not in progress at the time of writing, the student should have used a simple past tense to convey his thoughts about the film. This should have been done in order to show that the student was viewing the activity reported as a punctual act, rather than as a durative act.

That the student did not use the simple past tense is understandable, however, if one considers this question from the point of view of Japanese syntax. As is well known, it is not at all uncommon to find such progressive-form structures in Japanese as *tabete iru* ("he is eating") or *hanashite iru* ("he is talking"). By the same token, it is not uncommon to find structures like *aishite iru* (*"he is loving"), *shitte iru* (*"he is knowing"), and *misete iru* (*"he is showing"). As these examples demonstrate, Japanese extends the notion of progressive aspect into the semantic domain of verbs which indicate not only mental activity (e.g., *love, know*), but also sensation or perception (e.g., *see, hear, show*). As a rule, this extension is not possible in English unless the verbs are being used as present participles (e.g., "Knowing the truth, he left without a word") or as gerunds (e.g., "Loving someone is a beautiful experience"). In Japanese, on the other hand, it is quite possible to use verbs in this way, and when native speakers of Japanese do so, they fully understand that what is being expressed is a progressive, enduring state of affairs, and that this is the progressive form of the verb which they are using to express their thoughts. In relation to this particular syntactic device, then, one may say that there is definitely not a one-to-one correspondence existing between Japanese and English, and that what is perceived as being aspectually progressive in one language may not be so perceived in another language.

This type of mistake being a fairly common one, the student, whether describing present or past events, should be especially mindful of this progressive/nonprogressive dichotomy, and of the precise aspectual meaning of each component of the dichotomy.

What is important for the ESL student to understand about English grammar is that the progressive form of the verb is required only in certain contexts, while the simple, or nonprogressive, form is required in others. These linguistic contexts are, for the most part, mutually exclusive. That is to say, the progressive and nonprogressive forms of the verb are, generally speaking, context-specific and do not normally co-occur. In particular, the progressive form of the verb is the only one usually employed to express habitual activity in a *limited* period of time, whereas the nonprogressive form is normally used to express habitual, iterative activity in an *unlimited* period of time.

Concerning sentences (8), (9), and (10), the basic problem again is one of aspect. That is to say, the progressive form of the verb, which indicates duration and, as was just mentioned, habitual activity in a limited period of time, has been incorrectly used in the sentences under discussion instead of the nonprogressive form, the correct form. The nonprogressive present-tense form is the correct one for the simple reason that the activity referred to in each of these sentences is habitual, iterative activity in an unlimited, rather than a limited, period of time. In example (8), as we can see, there is no need of a progressive form of the verb *love* to indicate duration since a sense of duration is already implied by the lexical meaning of the word. Love is usually, by its nature, durative. The other problem with this sentence has to do with the wrong choice of idiom. In English, one may say "I don't know what's on his mind," or "I can't read his mind," but not *"I don't know his mind." This is not to say that it has never been said, or that it cannot be said, but it would be an extremely rare occurrence in any dialect of English with which the author is familiar. In sentence (10), the subject of the sentence, *A person*, presumably engages in the activity mentioned on a daily basis, over an unlimited period of time. These same remarks may apply also to sentence (9), whose subject presumably plays table tennis or ping pong well, all of the time.

It may be useful, at this stage of our discussion, to restate the English verbs which are not commonly used in the progressive form. First, there are the verbs which indicate a state or condition: *belong, contain, consist, cost, deserve, have* (meaning "to own"), *mean, matter, own, please*, and *resemble*. Next, the verbs which denote mental activity: *believe, forget, know, like, love, need, prefer, remember, seem, understand, want*, and *wish*. Finally, the verbs which indicate sensation or perception: *hear, see*, and, when used intransitively, *feel, smell*, and *taste*. In spite of the foregoing, however, it will be remembered that all of these verbs may be used as gerunds or as present participles, as was mentioned above (p. 0).

E. Incorrect Use of Impersonal "IT"

(11) "*Futari wa tagai ni shitashiku nari hajimeta.*"

(11.1) "*Futari wa tagai ni yujo o mochi hajimeta.*"

(11.2) *"It began to have a friendship with each other."

When composing this incorrectly written sentence about friendship, the student writer may quite possibly have had sentence (11) or sentence (11.1) in mind. Following a not uncommon Japanese linguistic procedure, the student has dropped the putative subject in sentence (11.2), incorrectly replacing it with the so-called Impersonal "IT" to serve as the subject of the sentence. There are, in fact, many situations in which Impersonal "IT" would be perfectly appropriate as the subject of the clause but, in this instance, such is not the case. In English, semantically speaking, only human beings are, ordinarily, deemed to be capable of having friendship with others. Since Impersonal "IT" normally refers only to inanimate objects or to nonhuman animate objects, it cannot therefore be the subject of this particular sentence, which should read: "They began to have a friendship with each other," or, perhaps, "They became friends," or, even "They struck up a friendship with each other."

F. Incorrect Omission of Locative Preposition

(12) *"A few years ago, they travelled ^{to} Paris."

In the above sentence, as can be seen, the preposition *to* has been omitted, thus making ungrammatical the locative phrase *travelled to Paris*. In English, this particular preposition is regulated by the preceding directional verb *travel*, and must occur between the verb and the place mentioned towards which the action is directed. In colloquial Japanese, of course, this omission of the locative particles *e* and *ni* is not only tolerated but seems to occur rather frequently. Thus, one could say: "*Tokyo ikimashita*" instead of the more formal "*Tokyo e ikimashita*." It is strictly a matter of language and style, in Japanese, whereas in English it is a matter of grammaticality and correctness.

G. Incorrect Subjective Complement

(13) *"Frank's part-time job is a newsboy."

The main problem with this sentence is that it is not logical; it makes no sense, from a semantic point of view. The reason is that Frank's job is not – and cannot be – a newsboy. Frank is the newsboy; not his job. The noun *newsboy* is what is called a "Predicative Appositive" by Curme (1947). According to this grammarian, a predicate appositive comments on the statement of which it is a part, or completes, explains, or modifies it, often being preceded by an *as*-phrase or an *as*-clause, both of which point to a following explanatory remark. Be that as it may, sentence (13) should properly read: "Frank has a part-time job as a newsboy," or "Frank is a part-time newsboy." There really are no other ways to say it correctly, and still use the word *newsboy* in the predicate.

H. Unnecessary Emphasis

(14) *"Eyes can say a person's mind. I believe it."

In this example, there are two problems to be considered. The first problem has to do with the verb *say*, which requires a human subject. It would be much better English to use the verb *reflect*, rather than *say*, when the subject of the verb is *eye* or *eyes*. This is simply a matter of English usage. Although eyes are part of a human body, they are not the whole, thinking person who can *say* something and, thus, they cannot therefore be the subject of the verb *say*.

The main stylistic mistake in sentence (14), however, lies in the second sentence: "I believe it." In Japanese, it would be perfectly proper and natural to say this (*So, shinji masu*), in order to emphasize the preceding proposition; i.e., that eyes can reflect a person's mind. In English, however, it adds a jarring note of unexpected and unwarranted emphasis. It would be much more natural in English to say something like: "I believe that eyes can reflect a person's mind." Since this type of stylistic error sounds so strange in English, it would be better for the student to avoid it completely. To be sure, English contains linguistic and stylistic devices to express emphasis, but this is definitely not one of them.

I. Unidiomatic Reversal of Negative Clause

(15) *"I thought he couldn't live."

(16) *"I think that humans must not kill other humans."

In sentences (15) and (16) there is nothing that is really incorrect, from a grammatical point of view, but they are, nevertheless, very strange-sounding to the native speaker of English. This is so because of a reversal of the negation clause. In English, generally speaking, native speakers of English usually prefer to negate the verb of the main clause (in this case, *think*), thus allowing the subordinate clause to express a positive or affirmative, rather than a negative, predication. Thus, the sentence "I didn't think that he could live" is preferable to the sentence "I thought he couldn't live." Similarly, the sentence "I don't think that humans should kill other humans" is preferable to the sentence "I think that humans must not kill other humans." In Japanese, on the other hand, the situation is just the reverse. Stylistically, it would be preferable in Japanese to say "*Ikanai to omoimasu*" than to say "*Iku to omoimasen*." Just as in English, both types of sentences are possible in Japanese also, but the one type is much more popular than the other. The exact reason for this particular English stylistic and semantic preference is unclear, at the present time, and awaits clarification through further research in this area.

J. Misplacement of "I think" Judgmental Clause

(17) *"The equality for women is *a* good thing, I think."

Again, we have a problem concerning the expression *I think*, of *to omoimasu*, and again we have a problem concerning misplacement of a clause. In Japanese, of course, placing *to omoimasu* at the end of the sentence is the correct grammatical thing to do. But in English, placing the expression *I think* at the end of the sentence, in apposition as shown in example (17), has the effect of weakening the validity of the whole predication. In English, it is certainly possible to have this expression in apposition, as shown in the example above, but having it in this particular position implies that the speaker has grave doubts about the assertion which he has just made. Thus, positioning *I think* at the end of the sentence is a practice to be avoided, unless the student, for some reason, purposely wishes to weaken the impact of his statement. Otherwise, the sentence should read: "I think that equality for women is a good thing," with the expression *I think* as the main clause and first element of the sentence. This makes for a much more positive assertion.

II. Intralingual (L2) Errors

In this final section are included several grammatical mistakes from the essays which are more the result of confusion within English itself (i.e., misinterpretation or overgeneralization, with resultant simplification), than the consequence of language transfer, or interlingual interference.

A. Incorrect Verb Tense

(18) *"She wondered what her boyfriend wants."

(19) *"If I was in the same situation as Phoebe, I *would* tell someone about it."

(20) *"If she *had* had such friends, she didn't need to be troubled."

(21) *"I have stayed with the Jones family from July 25th to August 2nd."

In this section, we shall discuss several common mistakes in verb tense which students often make. First, in sentence (18), we note that the verb of the main clause, *wondered*, is in the past tense, whereas the verb in the subordinate clause, *wants*, is in the present tense. If the situation described by the action were universally true, or were a habitual one, then *wants* would probably be the correct form of the verb to use. However, since this is not the case, a different tense must be employed; namely, the past tense, in this case. This is so because in English, generally speaking, the verb in the subordinate clause usually agrees in tense with the principal verb of the main clause, especially if it is simultaneous action that is to be expressed. Naturally, if anterior action is what is to be expressed, then the subordinate-clause verb must express action happening prior to that expressed by the principal verb of the main clause. This is called "the sequence of tenses." More precisely:

(22) "She *says* that her father *is* ill."
(PRESENT) (PRESENT)

(23) "She *said* that her father *was* ill."
(PAST) (PAST)

(24) "She *said* that her father *had been* ill."
(PAST) (PLUPERFECT)

Thus, as we can see, sentence (22) expresses present simultaneity; sentence (23), past simultaneity; and sentence (24), past anteriority. That is to say, the girl's father had been ill before she spoke of it.

The second common mistake that Japanese ESL students often make has to do with expressing unreal, nonexistent, or contrary-to-fact events, facts, or situations, as exemplified in sentences (19) and (20). To express a present unreal situation in English, the verb in the "IF," or "Condition," clause is regularly put into the past tense, while the verb of the main clause, or "Result" clause, is put into the conditional tense. Thus:

(25) "If I *had* enough money, I *would travel* around the
(PAST) (CONDITIONAL)
world."

Of course, the two clauses could exchange places if one so wished, so that the same sentence would read:

(26) "I *would travel* around the world if I *had* enough
(CONDITIONAL) (PAST)
money."

Except for emphasis, in which the first element may be seen as being somewhat more important than the second element, there is no appreciable difference in meaning of these two sentences. It will be noted that the only formal difference is one of punctuation, the comma disappearing when the "Condition" clause comes last in the sentence. The verb tenses remain as they are, with no change of relative position in the inverted sentence.

Similarly, to express a past unreal, nonexistent, or contrary-to-fact situation in English, the verb in the "IF," or "Condition," clause is put into the pluperfect, or past perfect tense. Thus:

(27) "If I *had had* enough money, I *would have travelled*
(PLUPERFECT) (CONDITIONAL PERFECT)
around the world."

Some grammarians have called this the "tense of regret," for it frequently does, indeed, express regret that a certain action, event, or situation did not take place, or that one had not followed a certain course of action. As in sentences (25) and (26), the two clauses in sentence (27) may exchange places without any essential loss of meaning. It will also be noted that, in sentence (20) above, the verb phrase in the main clause (*wouldn't have been troubled*) is in the passive, rather than the active, voice, the verbal adjective *troubled* describing a state of being, the result of prior action.

Concerning sentence (21), the problem is one of time relations. The student-author, using the present perfect tense of the verb *stay*, wrote "have stayed," instead of "stayed," which is the past tense of *stay* and which is the proper form of the verb to use in this particular sentence. This problem could have been avoided had the writer but realized that such adverbial phrases as *last month* or *yesterday*, or the one in question, *from July 25th to August 2nd*, regularly occur with past (perfect) tense verb forms only, and never with the present perfect tense, which is not used with adverbials indicating purely past time (Palmer, 1974).

Summing up, it is essential that the ESL student, when using English verbs in a complex sentence, pay close attention to: 1) the sequence of tenses of the verbs; and 2) the reality or the unreality of the predication as it is expressed in the sentence.

B. Incorrect Use of the "S-Genitive"

(28) *"If she tells her school's teacher . . ."

(29) *"I think that the boy lived in his imagination's world."

Generally speaking, present-day English restricts the "S-genitive" to animate objects, living things, whereas the "OF-genitive," the usual form used with lifeless things and objects, may also be used with living things, as well. Thus, while we may say either "that boy's family" or "the family of that boy," we most often, in so-called Choice English, say "the wings of the airplane," rather than "the airplane's wings." It goes without saying that this rule does not always hold true in general, colloquial English. To be sure, there are exceptions to this living-versus-lifeless rule. Such phrases as *for safety's sake, the plane's passengers*, and *the yacht's crew* are common enough. Furthermore, there are survivals of older usage in the so-called genitive of measure; e.g., *a day's journey, a stone's throw, a dollar's worth, a minute's notice, an* *hour's delay*, and so forth. Finally, there are certain metaphorical expressions in which the idea of life is pictured in a figurative sense; e.g., *at death's door, the ocean's roar*, etc. Notwithstanding these exceptions, however, the general rule that says that the "S-genitive" is restricted to living things still stands, and the non-native speaker of English would be well-advised to follow it.

Thus ends our survey of various mistakes in English grammar which Japanese ESL students frequently make. While the present sample does not, obviously, contain all of the errors discovered in the corpus, it is hoped that those presented and discussed herein are representative, and that their having been highlighted will ultimately be of use to ESL teachers and writers of ESL materials alike.

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THE NELSON-DENNY READING TEST: FAIR MEASURE FOR NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS?

Mary Heise

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to determine whether reading test intended for native speakers of English can be used to determine the reading proficiencies of non-native speakers of English. The test was administered to groups of both native English-speaking and Japanese freshmen at Creighton University in Omaha, Nebraska, U.S.A. This article includes a description and critical analysis of the test and a statistical analysis of the test results for each of the two groups of students. The conclusion is that the test is inappropriate for use with non-native speakers of English, and that the test should not be used as a predictor of academic success or as an admissions criterion for non-native English-speaking applicants to North American universities.

The purposes of this study are to determine whether or not the norm-referenced *Nelson-Denny Reading Test* (NDRT) can be used as a criterion in determining a foreign student's readiness to compete with American students in the skill area

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of reading at an American university, and to compare the relative performance of this select group of non-native English-speaking freshman students with a typical group of American freshman students.

The sample groups in the study are quite small. Nevertheless, a statistical analysis of the test results has been prepared. This analysis includes means, ranges, medians, standard deviations, item difficulty and item discrimination indexes, reliability quotients and correlations with the *Test of English as a Foreign Language* (TOEFL).

The NDRT is intended to serve predictive, screening, and broadly diagnostic purposes. The test provides measures of vocabulary, comprehension and rate for students in grades 9-15+.

The vocabulary subtest of 100 multiple-choice items has a time limit of ten minutes. Most of the items are presented in isolation, altthough a few have minimal context. The words are presented as an incomplete definition which the student is asked to complete by choosing the correct option. Fifty of the items are prefixed; 50 are non-prefixed.

The comprehension and rate subtest consists of eight passages with 36 multiple-choice questions. The time limit is 20 minutes. The questions require the students to find details, draw conclusions, make generalizations, recognize relationships, styles and moods, as well as to determine the writer's purpose and the main idea. The readings and the questions deal equally with subject areas within the humanities, natural and social sciences. Reading rate is tested by asking the students to mark the number of words they read during the first minute of the reading comprehension subject.

Four forms of the NDRT are available. Forms A and B were published in 1960; forms C and D in 1973. The authors state that the four forms reflect slightly different emphases of subject matter and levels of difficulty; therefore, they should provide greater opportunity for users in selecting the most appropriate form for a given situation. However, no guidelines are provided for selecting the best form (Buros, 1978: 1207).

The norms for the NDRT, Forms C and D, were established following testing in 1972. The reliability of comparing the scores of a sample group in 1980 to these norms is questionable. The norms include percentile ranks and grade equivalents. The test manual contains a thorough description of norms for grades 9 through 12. However, the data supplied for grades 13 through 16 was based on a significantly smaller test population. The make-up of this last sample group is unusual for a test which reports norms for grades 6 through 15+, as the sample group included college students of all levels as well as graduates and faculty.

Method

The NDRT, Forms C and D, was administered to two sample groups. The first group consisted of 24 Japanese students who had begun their freshman year at Creighton University in August 1980. Form C was completed by 14 students; Form D by 10. The test was administered to this group on July 14, 1980 on a volunteer basis. There was a range in the English language abilities of these students as evidenced by their TOEFL scores. The TOEFL scores of these students as of May 1, 1980 ranged from 430 to 557.

The second test group consisted of 31 American college freshmen. Form C was completed by 16 students; Form D by 15. The two testing dates for this group were September 10, 1980 and September 30, 1980. These students had also begun their freshman year at Creighton University in August 1980. Three of these students had been placed in a remedial reading course during their first semester of college as a result of their American College Testing Program (ACT) scores and/or their high school records. According to their ACT scores, the academic abilities of these students as reported by this particular measure (ACT) ranged from low to extremely high.

Results and Discussion

Mean, Range, Median and Standard Deviation

All scores were computed on the scale provided for grade 13 in the examiner's manual. A close observation of the data for the vocabulary subtest reveals that both the percentile ranks and the grade equivalent scores are substantially lower for the Japanese than for the American students (see Appendix B). The medians in the case of each form are equally if not more indicative than the means. The range of the Japanese students' percentile ranks is narrow compared to that of the American students.

An observation of the data for the comprehension subtest (Appendix B) shows an even sharper discrepancy between the two groups. In general the comprehension scores are much lower for the Japanese students. In Form D the ranges of the comprehension scores for the two groups are quite close. However, in Form C there is a startling difference at the higher end of the range of the percentile ranks (28 for the Japanese; 96 for the Americans).

The total scores (total = vocabulary + comprehension scores, Appendix B) confirm the results discussed for the two subtests, i.e., the generally lower scores of the Japanese students, which are much narrower in the percentile ranks than in the grade equivalents.

Statistics for reading rate were not included in the reported data because a significant number of students neglected to report their rates. Moreover, the norm data in the manual was not complete enough to allow for sufficient interpretation of the reported scores as a group. However, a glance at the reported scores reveals that there is a wide range in the scores of both groups, with the scores of the Japanese being generally lower.

Reliability

The reliability of the test according to the examiner's manual varies according to the subtests. The vocabulary subtest is reported to be the most reliable, and the reliability of the comprehension and rate subtests are low. The intercorrelations of the subtests are high (Buros, 1978: 1209). According to one authority on reading and reading tests, subtests are often too short to have adequate reliability (Farr, 1969: 64). This could be true in this case.

The reliability quotients for the two test groups in question were calculated according to the Kuder-Richardson formula. The results are in Table 1 (Appendix A).

In most cases (the exception being the vocabulary subtest for the Japanese students), the reliability of Form D is better for both groups. For the American group the reliability of Form D is quite good.

The reliability of the measure of reading rate was not obtained. The reliability and face validity appear to be low for three reasons. First, rate should be tested over a period of at least three minutes, with five minutes being preferable (Farr, 1970: 223). The second reason is that under normal circumstances most readers experience a slack in their speed. Readers are in effect being told to read fast during a test of reading rate, and therefore their speed will often increase by as much as 40 percent (Farr, 1969: 50). The third reason is that there is no one reading rate for an individual. The various reading rates of an individual vary according to the nature of the material as well as according to the purpose of the reader (Farr, 1970: 222).

Caution must be used when using the NDRT for diagnostic purposes because of the questionable reliability of many of the subtests. It is especially presumtuous to make any diagnosis with reference to a student's reading rate based on the one-minute sample in the NDRT.

Item Difficulty and Discrimination

According to more than one source, the level of material presented in the NDRT is quite difficult (Pumfrey, 1976: 126). For example, if one accepts the widely-accepted criterion which states that a test will discriminate among a test population in which half of the items are answered correctly, one would have to go up to the grade-16 level before this is true of the population described in the examiner's manual (Buros, 1978: 1210).

Presented in Table 2 (Appendix A) are the item discrimination data for both groups. Provided for each subtest are the percentages of test items with a satisfactory item discrimination index of +.30 or above. The information was obtained by using the upper and lower 25 percent tests of each group (Forms C and D combined) according to their raw total scores.

There is little beneficial information which can be gained from this data other than the fact that Form D discriminates better than Form C for both groups.

The item difficulty information is presented in Table 3 (Appendix A) as percentages of excessively easy items (over 90 percent correct) and excessively difficult items (under 30 percent) in each subtest.

The high percentage of difficult items on the vocabulary subtests for both groups are in large part due to the time limit. The total number of items out of the 100 present in the vocabulary subtest completed by all members of the group ranged from 34 for the American students on Form D to 48 for the Japanese students on Form D.

In summary, both tests were significantly more difficult for the Japanese students. The time pressure did not appear to be the only factor, as a significant number of errors were made on the questions which were answered by all the students. Each subtest is discussed below together with some possible reasons for its apparent difficulty.

One major factor contributing to the difficulty of the vocabulary subtest is its time limit. Students have only ten minutes to answer 100 items. A strict time limit may increase random guessing which in turn affects the test reliability. No data relating to the effect of the time limit is supplied in the manual. Strict time limits reduce the test's validity as a measure of vocabulary. When both speed and vocabulary are tested together, what is actually being measured is some unknown combination of these two skills (Farr, 1969: 35).

The test manual refers to a study by Holmes and Singer which has been widely criticized in part because of its inappropriate interprteation of the reading process. The manual refers to three factors which influence vocabulary according to this study: vocabulary in context, vocabulary in isolation, and prefixes. The manual advises that since one factor (prefixes) could be related to the NDRT items, such information should be used for diagnosis (Buros, 1978: 1210). The information provided in the manual, namely which items are with or without prefixes, is of no value in this study. No pattern developed among the answers of either group.

For the most part the vocabulary items are presented without context. In a few cases there is minimal context. As the test is one of reading, and a reader relies heavily on semantic and syntactic clues to determine word meanings, the validity of asking students taking a reading test to define words largely out of context is questionable.

Assessing a student's performance in reading comprehension on the basis of the Nelson-Denny reading comprehension subtest is a complex matter. Some factors affecting scores in many reading comprehension tests are time limits, interest, the subject matter, the level of the material, organizational patterns, structural language patterns, the reader's purpose, the reader's command of basic decoding skills, the level(s) of questioning used, whether the examinees are allowed to refer back to the selection, and scheduled or unscheduled interruptions during the test (Farr, 1969: 52ff.). Those factors which apply are discussed below.

The time limit is quite strict for this subtest as well. Twenty minutes are allowed for the reading of eight passages of varying length and difficulty and for the answering of 36 questions. Most students in both groups did not complete this particular subtest. The students were allowed to refer back to the selections when answering the qeustions.

The reading levels of the passages were checked with the Fry Readability Graph (West, 1978: 31). The results should be viewed as approximations, because of the reliability of not only the Fry Graph but of any readability formula and because most of the selections are too short to obtain the suggested number of three samples for the use of the Fry Graph. For Form C the readability estimates range from grade levels 10.0 to 17.0+ with an average of 12.5. For Form D the passages range in difficulty from 7.0 to 17.0+ with an average of 10.8. These figures represent a wide range of levels. A discrepancy in the difficulty of the two forms may or may not be present, depending on the accuracy of the graph and the possible altering of the results due to the short length of the selections.

The manual provides information regarding the authors' alternative to the traditional levels of questioning. They include only the literal and interpretive levels in the above category, while evaluations are considered with details and writer's purpose in a category devised according to the levels of abstraction presented by the questions. For the purposes of this study, concentration was given chiefly to the literal, evaluative and interpetive levels of questioning. The method employed to determine "easy" and "difficult" questions is that method described in the section of the study concerned with "Item Difficulty and Discrimination." On Form C, all of the easy questions (6/6) for the American group fall into the literal category. Most (5/6) of the difficult questions are at the interpretive or evaluative level. On Form D for the same group the one easy question is literal, while the one difficult question is interpetive. On Form C for the Japanese group there are no easy questions, while approximately two-thirds (13/18 of the difficult questions are at the interpretive or evaluative levels. Note that a significant number (5/18 are, however, at the literal level. On Form D, there is both one easy and one difficult question for the Japanese at the literal level, while most (15/16) of the difficult questions are at the interpretive or evaluative level. On both forms and for both groups time was evidently a distinct factor in the above results. Many of the difficult questions are often clustered in the last half of the 36 questions. In spite of this factor, the results described above indicate that, in general, even literal questions are not easy for the Japanese, while they constitute about 50 percent of the easy questions for the Americans. Most of the difficult questions for both groups are at the interpretive or evaluative levels, but there are many more difficult questions for the Japanese than for the Americans.

The comprehension questions are divided into subject areas (humanities, natural sciences, social sciences) in the manual. On Form C, four out of six of the easy questions were in the natural sciences for the American group. There was not a sufficient number of easy questions for this group on Form D to make a similar assessment. On both forms for the American group, a significant number of questions was answered correctly by a majority of the students (88 percent); however, no pattern emerges which points to any one or two subject areas as strong points for this group. On Form C for the Japanese students there were no easy questions. The difficult questions are distributed in the following manner: out of a possible total of 18, 2 are in the natural sciences, 6 are in the humanities, and 10 are in the social sciences. The expected pattern above does not, however, hold true for Form D. The one easy question for the Japanese is in the humanities. The distribution of the difficult questions is as follows: out of a total 16, 7 are in the natural sciences, 3 are in the humanities, and 6 are in the social sciences. Therefore, for this select group of Japanese, subject area does not appear to have played a role in item difficulty.

There are factors related to the general effectiveness and validity of the standard type of reading comprehension tests (tests which include a reading passage and questions). One such factor is passage independence, that is, when questions can be answered without reading the text. In one study it was found that inferential questions are more passage independent than literal factual questions (Duffelmeyer, 1980: 131-33).

Prior knowledge and guessing are influencing factors. According to Farr, a comprehension score of 55 percent (this figure as meant merely as an example, not as a point of reference) without reading the selection would not be unusual due to these combined factors (Farr, 1969: 46).

Passage dependence, that is, matching the possible answers to phrases in the reading passages, is another factor. In a recent study 8 items from the Nelson-Denny test were used. The "stem" or opening phrase of each question was removed. The appropriate reading passages and only the four possible answers to each of the 8 questions were given to 27 graduate students. The students were instructed to select the correct answers by selecting those answers which included words that also appear in the passage or by selecting the one with words mentioned most frequently in the passage. The mean score for this group was 6.7 out of 8. Upon analyzing the test items, it was found that even a slight change of word form increased the difficulty of word matching and counting. For example, if "pursuit of perfection" in the passage was changed to "pursued perfection" in the answer choice, some students were confused. The point of this study was that in tests of reading comprehension there are two alternative possibilities: words from the passage should be used in every answer choice, or the answer choices should be entirely reworded (Pyrczak, 1980: 162).

In view of the factors mentioned above, it is questionable whether such reading comprehension tests provide an accurate measure of achievement or proficiency.

The recording of the students' reading rates after the first minute of the reading comprehension test is a critical interruption. The interruption is not worthwhile for a number of reasons, some of which were discussed previously in this article. Another major difficulty with such a measure is that speed is not important unless at least a minimal level of comprehension is maintained (Farr, 1969: 45f.). One problem with the NDRT is that rate and comprehension are measured independently of each other.

Correlations

Correlation figures for the NDRT and the *Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test* (PSAT) and the *Scholastic Aptitude Test* (SAT) were quite high according to the examiner's manual (Brown, 1976: 30). Most of the students who participated in this study took the academic tests offered by the American College Testing Program (ACT). There are no tests offered by this program which are solely devoted to reading comprehension or vocabulary knowledge. The tests which do not include reading comprehension have, in addition, general background questions. Therefore, correlations with the ACT are not included in this study.

Twenty-one of the Japanese students who participated in this study also took the TOEFL examination on May 1, 1980. The TOEFL includes subtests in reading, structure and listening comprehension. As the skills measured by the TOEFL are diverse, a correlation was not made between the Nelson-Denny reading subtests and the TOEFL total. However, the correlations presented in Table 4 (Appendix A) were made. There is little correlation between the two tests.

The evidence in the NDRT's examiner's manual presents weak evidence of predictive validity. The scores are related to scores in several college courses as well as overall grade point averages (Buros; 1978: 1209). No attempt was made to correlate the NDRT with grade point averages of the students in this study, as none of the students had completed a full semester of at least 12 credit hours at the time this study was completed.

Conclusion

In spite of the small size of the two test groups, the following conclusion can be drawn. As any standardized test of reading comprehension and vocabulary, the NDRT has severe limitations, especially for an audience for which it was not originally intended. These limitations, some of which are the time limit, difficulty, guess factor, etc., seriously affect the validity of the test results. Therefore, the test should not be used as a factor in college admission or as a predictive device for a group of non-native English speakers.

The study does indicate statistically that a group of non-native speakers does experience, for the most part, a tremendous amount of difficulty in competing with native English-speaking American college students in situations comparable to a standardized test of reading comprehension and vocabulary knowledge. Therefore, their deficiencies in reading will adversely affect their performance in tests, especially when a severe time limit is imposed.

Appendix A

TABLE 1 – RELIABILITY

	Form C			Form D		
	Voc.	**Comp.**	**Total**	**Voc.**	**Comp.**	**Total**
Americans	.77	.75	.79	.93	.93	.96
Japanese	.58	.73	.59	.52	.84	.84

TABLE 2 – ITEM DISCRIMINATION

	Form C		Form D	
	Voc. (100 items)	**Comp. (36 items)**	**Voc. (100 items)**	**Comp. (36 items)**
Americans	26%	28%	57%	72%
Japanese	34%	11%	42%	63%

TABLE 3 – ITEM DIFFICULTY

	Form C		Form D	
	Voc. (100 items)	**Comp. (36 items)**	**Voc. (100 items)**	**Comp. (36 items)**
Easy Items				
Americans	9%	36%	3%	3%
Japanese	0%	0%	0%	3%
Difficult Items				
Americans	49%	17%	41%	3%
Japanese	85%	50%	69%	44%

TABLE 4 – CORRELATIONS WITH TOEFL

	TOEFL Reading Subtest	**TOEFL Total**
Nelson-Denny Reading Subtest	.21	– –
Nelson-Denny Total	.39	.45

Appendix B

Following is the raw score data for the vocabulary and reading comprehension subtests and the total scores for both test groups.

FORM C		Voc.	Comp.	Total (Voc. + Comp.)
Mean	American	54	45	50
	Japanese	15	12	11
Range	American	28-93	8-96	17-90
	Japanese	1-46	0-28	1-27
Median	American	43	41	41
	Japanese	12	8	10
Standard Deviation	American	19.7	23.3	22.3
	Japanese	11.6	9.0	7.5

FORM D		Voc.	Comp.	Total (Voc. + Comp.)
Mean	American	68	57	62
	Japanese	12	14	11
Range	American	19-99	1-99	1-99
	Japanese	2-35	2-83	1-57
Median	American	77	72	79
	Japanese	7	4	6
Standard Deviation	American	27.2	35.9	35.5
	Japanese	10.0	23.4	15.8

FORMS C and D		Voc.	Comp.	Total (Voc. + Comp.)
Mean	American	61	45	55
	Japanese	13	13	11
Range	American	19-99	1-99	1-99
	Japanese	1-46	0-83	1-57
Median	American	57	43	52
	Japanese	10	8	7
Standard Deviation	American	24.5	26.7	27.6
	Japanese	10.7	10.7	11.7

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INVITATIONAL SPEECHES AT BADEN-BADEN BY NAGOYA AND SEOUL FOR THE 1988 INTERNATIONAL OLYMPICS

– A Case Study in International Persuasion –

Teruyuki Kume

Abstract

On September 30, 1981, the International Olympic Committee announced in Baden-Baden their decision to award the 1988 Summer Olympics to Seoul. Those who were involved in the invitational activities for the Nagoya Olympics as well as the people throughout Japan were taken by surprise at the news of the landslide defeat of Nagoya, because the majority of them were convinced of Nagoya's victory until the last moment.

In order to explore the reasons why this stunning result was brought about, the author develops the context and surrounding circumstances which preceded the delivery of the invitational speeches. The author then speculates that those invitational speeches made by both Nagoya and Seoul's representatives on September 29 played a significant

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part in influencing the voters – 79 IOC members.

This is a conspicuous example of international communication and persuasion which the author analyzes by applying Kenneth Anderson's (1978) framework, breaking persuasion into (1) attention, (2) comprehension, and (3) acceptance. A detailed rhetorical analysis of the invitational speeches by four speakers is made. The analysis shows that Seoul's presentations were more effective in persuading the audience by skillfully dramatizing the event and meeting the expectations of the audience that were internationally represented.

The author finally examines possible relationships between this international communication event and English education in Japan.

Introduction

In spite of a sizable amount of money and manpower mobilized for over four years in her efforts to secure the invitation, Nagoya failed to realise her dream of becoming the host city for the 1988 Summer Olympic Games. The outcome of voting at the International Olympic Committee (IOC) General Meeting in Baden-Baden on September 30, 1981 resulted in a landslide victory for Seoul with a clear vote of 52 to 27, and surprised the majority of the Japanese.[1] The Japanese press had consistently been reporting that Nagoya would, after all, be selected, even though by a slight margin. The enormous power of the press to influence its readership might have intensified the degree of shock on the part of the Japanese. As a matter of fact, however, even the delegates from Seoul could not predict such an overwhelming victory.[2]

Why, then , did such a dramatic shift take place? Why had the prediction by the press been completely reversed? And how did such a turn of events occur? While there are numerous factors involved that might have contributed to the outcome, I speculate that the invitational speeches made by Nagoya and Seoul the day before the voting played a significant role in shaping the minds of the voters, i.e., the 79 IOC members.

During the presentations, each candidate city no doubt concentrated her energy on obtaining the majority votes of the IOC members, who are cross-nationally represented and yet at the same time owe allegiance to the Olympic ideals. The delegates of both cities used mainly English as their means of communication to get their messages across to this international body. I believe, therefore, that an analysis of their invitational speeches will enable those involved in English education to shed some light on the nature and characteristics of international persuasion.

In this paper, I will first describe the background of the presentation, and then compare and contrast the rhetorical strategies employed by Nagoya and Seoul. Through this analysis, I will explore the crucial elements in international persuasion, and will suggest ways the Japanese style of communication in international settings can be improved. Finally, I will draw some implications from this analysis for English education in Japan.

Background

International Campaign

On August 24, 1977, a press conference was held with Governor Nakaya of Aichi Prefecture where the city of Nagoya is located. He proposed that Nagoya be the host city to the 24th International Summer Olympic Games to be held in 1988. A very influential local newspaper reported this with a bold headline reading, "Nagoya to Invite '88 International Olympics."[3] Mayor Motoyama of Nagoya was rather cautious about revealing his intension. He said, "What is necessary first of all is that both the national and local governments reach consensus. I myself would like to see how my fellow citizens of Nagoya would react to it."[4]

Despite Mayor Motoyama's humble statement, one can imagine that a considerable amount of *nemawashi* or ground work with at least several leaders of government, business and sports world must have been laid out by this time. The fact that Governor Nakaya had a press conference indicates that it was not purely his own idea any more.

It is quite conceivable that Governor Nakaya made such a proposal at this moment. Nagoya, a major city in the central part of Japan, with a population of over two million, had been lagging behind the other two major cities of Tokyo and Osaka in terms of "internationalization." Tokyo, the capital of Japan, hosted the Olympic Games in 1964, the first Olympics ever held in Asia. This international event in Tokyo marked a milestone in the process of Japan's postwar modernization. It was often said that after this event Japan was recognized as a full-fledged member of the international community. Six years later, Osaka hosted the Japan World Exposition 1970 (EXPO '70), the first time it had ever been held in Asia. A total of 77 countries and other international organizations participated to make it the largest world exposition since the first one held in London in 1851.[5] Thus Osaka also became known to the world.

Sandwiched between Tokyo and Osaka geographically, Nagoya had not gained the benefit from holding such an internationally-recognized event. Under such circumstances, Governor Nakaya probably made his proposal to activate the regional industries and accelerate the development of Nagoya as an international city.

Let us briefly describe the selection process for the host city. In order to host the Olympic Games, a candidate city has to be chosen by the IOC. The host city has to guarantee that all the games are organized in such a way as to satisfy and meet the requirements of the IOC.[6] It is not enough for the city to meet the requirements fully; it also has to put up with the time-consuming selection process. First, the mayor of the host city approves her candidacy. Second, the candidacy needs to be approved by the National Olympic Committee (NOC). Third, it must be approved by the national government.[7] When this process is completed, the city sends her application to the IOC headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland, by a given deadline. Next, the city must provide detailed answers by another due date to IOC's questionnaires that include (1) general questions, (2) questions from the International Sports Federation (ISF), and (3) questions on media coverage.[8] Finally, the decision is made at an IOC general meeting by secret ballot of the members. Before the final decision is made, each candidate city is given an opportunity to exhibit her display for about a week during the sessions of the IOC meeting and then to make her presentation for about an hour and a half, usually the day before the actual voting.[9]

It can be said from the explanation made so far that invitational activities by cities for Olympic Games somewhat resemble political election campaigns, particularly the U.S. presidential election, which can be divided into two distinct periods. The first period lasts until a candidate is nominated by the party convention. The second stage involves vigorous campaigning by each candidate throughout the country, until the day before election. Campaign speeches by the candidates greatly influence the potential voters. A T.V. debate between the two candidates is a good case in point. It can be speculated that in a similar way, the presentations given by cities play an important part in influencing the voters, in this case the IOC members. In the case of this rivalry between Nagoya and Seoul, the calm and peaceful city of Baden-Baden turned into the stage for this dramatic confrontation.

Chronology of Nagoya and Seoul's Candidacy

Nagoya made the first move in attempting to host the 1988 Olympics. As was said earlier, Governor Nakaya of Aichi prefecture proposed in August, 1977 the idea of the '88 Nagoya Olympics. Nakaya disclosed his idea at this time, because the host city for the '84 Olympics would be finalized in October, 1977 and attention would be directed to the host cities of the '88 Olympics shortly after.[10] In fact, Sydney had already expressed her desire to be the host city. Also other cities such as Brussels, Algiers, Teheran and Melbourne announced their interests one after another in their bids for the '88 Olympics shortly after Nagoya's declaration.[11]

The year 1979 found Seoul also interested in making a bid.[12] The Republic of Korea had a plan for hosting the Asian Games during the 1980s and the Olympics during the 1990s. Some officials of both the government and national athletic association said, however, that "we are aiming at the next Olympics after Los Angeles. It is the most feasible year in view of the IOC's principle that Olympics should be held on every continent in turn."[13] Thus, the campaign for the '88 Olympics had become a very tough endeavor for all candidates, as there were many interested cities.

In the meantime, an IOC Council Meeting was held in Nagoya during the period from October 23 to 26 in 1979. Nagoya capitalized on this occasion to impress the IOC council members with Nagoya. The participants at the meeting made an inspection tour to the site of the main stadium and other sports facilities, in and around Nagoya.[14] Unfortunately, in Seoul on October 26, 1979, President Park of the Republic of Korea was assassinated, something which shocked the whole world.[15] Due to the political turmoil after this incident, very few invitational activities by Seoul was reported during this time period.

On the international scene, U.S. President Carter warned the Soviet Union on January 6, 1980 of his intention of boycotting the Moscow Olympics unless the Soviet Union withdrew her troops from Afghanistan.[16] The Kremlin did not respond. President Carter lost no time in asking his allies to act in concert with the United States. Ultimately, Japan made the tough decision not to send any delegation to the Moscow Olympics held during the summer of 1980.[17]

In spite of the above, the campaign by Nagoya continued. On October 17, 1980, the Japanese government finally approved Nagoya's bid.[18] This approval, however, did not mean that the government would extend as much financial assistance as Nagoya needed. Compared with the Tokyo and Sapporo Olympics, the attitude the central government showed toward Nagoya was far from that of enthusiasm, reflecting the nation's financial difficulties and the world-wide recession.[19] By the deadline of November 30, 1980, Nagoya, Melbourne, and Athens submitted their applications to the IOC.[20] In addition, Seoul's delayed application, which arrived a few days after the deadline, was accepted by the IOC as "a delay in postal service."[21]

Of all the candidates, Melbourne was considered to be Nagoya's most powerful rival.[22] Melbourne held the Olympics in 1956 and hence had the facilities for most of the games available, and what's more, is well known all over the world. However, she suddenly gave up her bid on February 25, 1981, giving the Nagoya contingent much more hope of realizing their dream.[23] By the end of February, 1981, the due date for answers to IOC questionnaires, only Nagoya and Seoul had completed the submission of their answers. It was disclosed on March 3 that Athens had given up her bid, thus leaving only Nagoya and Seoul to compete.[24]

From this time until September, both Nagoya and Seoul actively campaigned for their bids, for example, by inviting

IOC and NOC members to their cities, and by sending their representatives to various countries to solicit the support of each IOC member.[25] Throughout this period, the Japanese press had been reporting that Nagoya was well ahead in the race.[26] The IOC Council Meeting held in Lausanne on April 9 decided that the ballot for the host cities of the '88 Olympics would be cast in the afternoon of September 30, during the IOC General Meeting to be held in Baden-Baden.[27] Both Nagoya and Seoul decided to send large delegations to Baden-Baden to make their final appeals for hosting the Games.[28]

Campaign Activities at Baden-Baden

Reviewing how Nagoya and Seoul carried out their invitational campaigns, one is surprised to find sharp contrasts between the two. One sharp contrast was in the composition of the delegation. Another contrast was in the displays at the Exhibition Hall. A third one was in the manner the delegates behaved in Baden-Baden, especially in their approaches to IOC members.

As to the composition of the delegation, Nagoya's 47-member delegation was largely composed of old dignitaries from central and local government; whereas Seoul's approximately 30-member delegation was mainly composed of young diplomats, members of sports organizations and reporters well versed in English.[29] This sharp contrast may reflect the basic differences between the two cities in their criteria for selection of the delegates. In the case of Japan, the ability of speaking English was not considered so important as with the case of the Korean delegates. Looking at the differences in delegates from Seoul and Nagoya, it is also important to question what type of English speakers we intend to foster in Japan. Are we looking for persons who can speak English for propriety only, or do we want to develop the talent to exert

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a positive effect in communicating with non-Japanese?

The display was opened on September 22 at the Exhibition Hall. Japan's section looked simple and modest. The 48 panels featuring Nagoya were put up on the wall. In the center was a miniature of the main stadium. The hall was accentuated by 25 *Gifu Chochin* or paper lanterns made in Gifu, hanging from the ceiling, and by the alcove set up in one corner in which a scroll with "Nagoya" in Chinese characters, was hanging. The hall was on the whole simply made and looked spacious, designed to allow the smooth traffic of visitors.[30]

Seoul's display was a contrast to the simple, Oriental tone of Nagoya's. More than 200 panels featuring Seoul's sports and cultural facilities were displayed. And a gorgeous miniature of Seoul's National Sports Center in the center caught the attention of visitors. Above all, a large T.V. monitor placed at one corner gave visitors dynamic views of Seoul and her sports facilities. Many Korean beauties were serving as hostesses, giving away lavishly such small gifts as badges, paper weights, fans, and pennants, together with pamphlets.[31] Two German newspapers reportedly said, "Seoul's heart-warming displays are attracting visitors' attention."[32]

Realizing that Nagoya's display was much less popular, the staff of Nagoya looked for alternate strategies. They telephoned the headquarters in Japan to send more gifts such as badges and fans. They were also busy xeroxing their leaflets because they were in short supply. They asked Japan Air Lines to send more stewardesses to look after visitors, although these stewardesses did not know much about Nagoya.[33] It was obvious, however, that Seoul's exhibition was more favorably received. Local papers in West Germany reportedly made such comments as, "Seoul's displays are more colorful, attractive, and eye-catching," "Nagoya's displays are simple and flat. They look inactive, spiritless, and even apathetic."[34] Another paper wondered "if Nagoya is just waiting for the final judgment."[35] One European reporter asked a Japanese reporter, "Why don't they campaign actively?"[36]

Reporters agreed that the Korean team was more active in lobbying, too. In addition to the official members of the delegation, more than 100 diplomats and dignitaries based in Europe and North and South America were mobilized to contact IOC, ISF and NOC members.[37] Seoul's delegates were reported to be contacting the IOC members who were in favor of Nagoya, but were concerned about the decision of the host city for the '88 Winter Olympic Games.[38] The Koreans' aggressive lobbying activities can be summarized in such reporting as, "Koreans are admirably active and brave, knowing the ultimate loss of the game,"[39] and "Korean members are visible everywhere – halls, conference halls, lobbies, etc."[40]

Nagoya's campaign was more passive and formal. Most of the time, the delegates were staying together in the same hotel.[41] Whenever dignitaries from Japan arrived in Baden-Baden, the lower-ranking members were busy welcoming them rather than selling Nagoya to IOC members.[42] They behaved modestly during this period, thinking that they had done enough in securing the majority of votes. So only a few members, such as Mr. Kiyokawa and Mr. Takeda, two IOC members from Japan, were paying courtesy calls to IOC members.[43] Gradually, however, they became apprehensive about the final outcome, and realized they had to do more to retain their lead over Seoul.

One big headache for Nagoya was the existence of anti-Nagoya Olympic demonstrations, active and visible in Baden-Baden. They decided to send a letter to each IOC member pointing out that the opposition movement was minimal in Nagoya, and would not influence the staging of the Olympics.[44] Also, to try and keep pace with the aggressive campaigns initiated by the Korean delegates, Dr. Azuma sent cables from Japan to those IOC members he knew, for final solicitation.[45] Despite these rollbacks, Nagoya's campaign on the whole left just a modest impression. To some IOC members, Nagoya's delegation looked optimistic and even arrogant, being confident of their desired outcome, without showing a gesture of sincere appeal to the IOC members.[46] As a matter of fact, the two most important figures from Japan arrived in Baden-Baden at the end of the game. Mayor Motoyama arrived on September 26 and Governor Nakaya on 27.[47]

In this particular context, we can question why Japanese delegates in Baden-Baden, who had access to English media depicting their efforts as flagging, did not react more vigorously. Is it the case that they did not believe the media since it was in English? This is of course a speculative consideration, but it may reflect the Japanese desire to learn English without using it.

Discussion

Target Audience

It was decided by lot that Nagoya's presentation be made first, beginning at 3:00 P.M., to be followed by Seoul at 4:30 P.M. the same afternoon. Each city was allowed to send six official delegates to the conference hall for presentation.[48] The audience consisted of IOC, ISF and NOC members, and any others such as reporters were excluded as the presentation was part of the agenda of the IOC General Meeting.[49] As the secret votes were cast by 79 IOC members, let us briefly identify the characteristics of the IOC members.

The IOC was first formed by Count Pierre de Coubertin in 1894, the founder of Modern Olympic Movement. To realise the Olympic ideals – to promote world peace through sports

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for one – Coubertin organized a committee composed of those aristocrats who sympathized with the Olympic ideals, and contributed to promotion of sports. He wanted to keep the committee free from outside political influence to maintain their ideals. (Miller, 1979:27)

As of September 1981, the total number of IOC members was 82.[50] They had been selected on such criteria as past sports records, region, contribution to Olympic movement. Many of them were old. Some were 80 (Miller, 1979:20). For more than 80 years since its foundation, the IOC had functioned in its own way and had managed to organize Olympic Games every four years except during wartime. Nevertheless, it had received various criticisms from outside. It was often nicknamed as "an undemocratic organization," "an outdated organization composed of old aristocrats," or "a dogmatic coterie of senior citizens (pp. 3-16)." Despite these criticisms, the IOC had been active and kept this world-wide sports event relatively free from the political powers of the times (pp. 25-52).

Unlike many other international organizations, IOC members do not necessarily represent their own countries. For instance, the two Japanese members of IOC, Mr. Masaji Kiyokawa and Mr. Tsunenori Takeda, were chosen as IOC members due primarily to their outstanding contributions to the Olympic movement. In this sense, each IOC member is like an "ambassador" of IOC dispatched to each nation (p. 17). There is a rule of thumb in nominating IOC members. Usually, one is selected from each country, and two from the countries where Olympics have been held in the past, or from some countries which have made significant contributions to the Olympic movement. For example, such nations as U.K., France, Spain, Greece, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., India and Japan have two members each. Out of these, Spain and India had not staged the Olympics, but have made unique contributions to the Olympic Movement (p. 24).

In summary, IOC is a unique organization, composed of 82 members, relatively old and wealthy with a brilliant record of contributions to the Olympic ideals. Even though their professional and cultural backgrounds differ considerably, they owe allegiance to the Olympic ideals which are embodied in the Olympic Charter (pp. 40-50). With this audience in mind, both Nagoya and Seoul formed their strategies for presentation. Each presentation included a film show, an introductory speech, and a main invitational speech, as well as questions and answers.[51] Due to a lack of sufficient information concerning the film show and questions and answers, I will focus my analysis on the introductory and main invitational speeches.

Methods of Analysis

As I will make a rhetorical analysis to find out to what extent the messages given by both contenders had been effective in inducing IOC members' cooperation to support their candidacy, this analysis necessarily deals with elements of persuasion. In my analysis, I apply Kenneth E. Anderson's theory of persuasion which analyzes persuasion in terms of three stages: attention, comprehension, and acceptance (Anderson, 1978:198-207). He argues, "the basis of evaluation of language and style in persuasion is the effect of these elements in determining persuasion outcomes" (p. 198). Since the outcome of the presentation is already history, it is necessary to make a thorough analysis of the effect of these elements that might have led to the outcome. Anderson continues, "this approach yields a judgment of language and associated stylistic feature in terms of their effect on the mediational process of attention, comprehension, and acceptance" (p. 198). While it is sometimes difficult to make clear distinctions among the said three stages, I will use these stages for clearer understanding of organization, language and style of the messages which are the keys to the examination of rhetorical strategies employed in the speeches. Throughout my analysis, I will assign combinations of positive, neutral, and negative ratings to the results of multitudinous verbal and discourse strategies used by each contender, to secure the attention, comprehension, and acceptance of the IOC "target" audience.

Attention, the first stage of persuasion, can be defined as "a set or posture, by which we select out of our environment those stimuli that are related to our interest and needs" (Brembeck and Howell, 1976:270). In this connection, Anderson argues, "Not everything in a communication can receive maximum emphasis. Some things must be placed in the sun, some in the shade" (Anderson, 1978:199). He also states, "departures from the norm that are not incorrect are stylistic . . . To the degree that these departures must be novel, unusual, and have elements of change and variety, these methods serve to select attention" (p. 198). In my analysis of attention, I will pick up the parts which seem to draw attention, because they are somewhat unusual or deviant from the norm in view of the invitational speeches.

Comprehension, the second stage of persuasion, is defined as clarification of the intended messages. Anderson argues, "proper word choice is the key to comprehension by the communicator" (pp. 201-202). He asserts, for example, "definition may be offered through restatement, through the context, by examples, by negation" (p. 203). One can estimate that these skills serve to increase comprehension. In my analysis of comprehension, I will examine how the main themes and arguments are introduced and to what extent these factors served comprehension.

The last stage of persuasion involves acceptance. Kenneth Burk argues, "Persuasion occurs as the source and receiver become identified with each other through the linguistic strategies employed" (p. 204). Anderson calls this state identification (p. 204). In order to induce identification, the speaker needs to either convince the listeners that his idea is right or he offers a new idea that will work better or satisfy the self-interests of the listeners. Internalization is a step forward from the state of identification. I define internalization as a process in which one is engaged in taking the idea presented as his own so that it might easily lead to his action, embodying such an idea. In order to induce internalization, the speaker must link his new ideas with the hypothetical or actual situation with the reinforcement of illustration and confirmation. What is crucial in campaign speeches is to make sure the listeners internalize the ideas and values of the speaker. In addition to these states, the traditional three proofs, that is, logical, emotional and ethical proof, will be taken into consideration in evaluating acceptance (pp. 162-165). With these factors in mind, I will examine the components that might have led to acceptance.

Analysis I: Attention

A. Nagoya

1. Strong Personal Tone of an Old Face (Positive-Negative)

Following the introduction of the six official members from Nagoya, and showing of the 16-minute movie "Nagoya," the two-minute taped message by Dr. Azuma was played back.[52] This arrangement was made because Dr. Azuma, President of the Nagoya '88 Olympic Council, could not come to Baden-Baden due to his poor health.[53] The taped message was concerned mostly with his apology for not coming to Baden-Baden. For instance, he said, "I retired from the active membership and became an honorary member in 1968. . .my Olympic friends in Japan persuaded me, an octogenarian, to come out of the retirement."[54] He vividly reminded the majority of the IOC members of his old, familiar face, for he was a well-known figure, particularly among old members involved in the Tokyo Olympics. Despite his age, he decided to accept the presidency of the Nagoya Olympic Council, "remembering the excitement, . . . 20 years ago, . . . to lead the Nagoya Delegation. . ."

Nevertheless, Dr. Azuma was advised by his doctor not to fly to Baden-Baden. He said, "To my deep regret, my doctor's advice has prevented me from . . .," and went on, "alas, my old bones are creaking, so to speak." Thus, he made quite an emotional appeal to the listeners. Finally, he hoped that the IOC would "give us the chance to see another Olympic Games in my country during my lifetime." When this taped presentation finished, there occurred an unexpectedly big burst of applause.[55] Actually, his message was filled with his strong personal tone and direct appeal. I presume, however, that this applause was to express the audience's sympathy with Dr. Azuma personally, suggesting that his message attracted attention, but did not necessarily serve in Nagoya's favor.

2. **Omission of Main Issues of Concern** (Neutral-Negative)

Mr. Shigemitsu Miyake, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Nagoya '88 Olympic Council, made his major invitational speech for Nagoya. After expressing a few words of typical greetings, Mr. Miyake said, "The words of Dr. Azuma have already expressed the aspirations, hopes and expectations of the citizens of Nagoya, . . . Therefore, my presentation will concentrate on concrete issues: how. . ., and how. . ." The audience must have felt something important was missing at this moment. Dr. Azuma honestly expressed his hope and appeal, but he did not mention very much about why Nagoya wanted to host the Olympics. So, Mr. Miyake was expected to touch on this point. However, this crucial issue of why the Olympics would have been significant for Nagoya was avoided. Perhaps, this omission of an important issue could have caught attention, but negatively. Of course, Mr. Miyake touched on Nagoya, describing her as the third industrial metropolis in Japan. This statement probably assured the listeners of Nagoya's ability to manage the Olympic Games, but failed to adequately explain why Nagoya, not Seoul.

Mr. Miyake employed itemization which probably did not work well in maintaining attention. In explaining the major points of Nagoya's plan, he said, "The first regards timing." "The second point concerns the number of sporting events." "Now the third point. Concerning the Olympic village, . . ." He went on to describe Nagoya's plan in terms of sports facilities, accommodations, transportation, entry, public support, and financing, etc. Indeed, these are important considerations, but these technical matters had already been fully communicated to the listeners.[56] In other words, those itemizations were not logically connected with each other, but rather fragmented. Only salient points should have been presented, so as to gain attention. It can be said that the itemization in such a way might have served to gain attention at first, but later it gradually lost the attention of the audience.

In this connection, I believe that language educators in Japan should make more efforts in introducing the sense of exploratory spirit or spirit of language play available in English expression. Through the mastery of such creativity in language use, one can stimulate or entertain his listeners more effectively.

B. Seoul

1. Creation of Temporal Thrill and Sensation (Positive)

As soon as the introduction of the six official delegates was over, Mr. Young-su Park, the Mayor of Seoul, went to the plat-

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form to deliver his introductory address. He allegedly read his speech in Korean which was translated consecutively by someone in English.[57] Probably the choice of the mayor of the host city as a first speaker gained favorable attention in terms of credibility, for he was the person most responsible for the invitation. This speech was effective in creating a sense of temporal thrill and excitement through skillful use of connectives, use of present progressive forms of verbs. He said, for example, "At this very moment, the 38 million people of the Republic of Korea. . .are focusing their attention and expectation on this IOC session."[58]

In a similar manner, Mr. Sang-ho Cho, President of the Korean Olympic Committee who made a major invitational speech, was skillful in creating a vivid imaginative representation of the Olympics in Seoul as if they were being staged at that exact moment. For instance, towards the end of his presentation, he said:

> I sincerely hope to have the opportunity of welcoming all the IOC members gathered here at the grand ceremony for the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in the main stadium in Seoul. It will be a great honor and pleasure for me personally as well as in my official capacity.

2. **New Vision through Gradual Build-up** (Positive)

Mr. Cho chose to itemize several issues in the middle of his presentation. He said, "First, Seoul is the capital of . . .," "Second, the city of Seoul has successfully organized . . .," "Third, except for . . ., Seoul already has most of the necessary sports facilities . . ." Unlike the itemization of Nagoya's, Mr. Cho itemized each issue in a coherent manner so that each issue was organized as an essential unit in a gradually accumulating whole, unfolding like a story being told. Moreover, explanation of each theme was made to highlight the contrast with her rival city.

In an attempt to communicate why Seoul would be a better choice, Seoul's presentation employed a variety of devices such as the use of negation, direct appeal, proper choice of conjunctions, adjectives, and verbs. Particularly noteworthy was the carefully constructed sets of sentences that might have helped to change the attitudes of the audience by gradually building up their assertions. Mayor Park, for instance, stated:

> I am not proposing Seoul as the site for the 1988 Olympics, simply because facilities both already built and now under construction would best meet the requirements of Olympic Games. This is, of course, a very important consideration. But even more important, we believe that Olympic Games would accomplish the goal of the Olympic Movement of contributing to world peace.

Another example of gradual build-up was observed in Mr. Cho's speech which probably served to command attention on Seoul's sore spot, i.e., the division of the country. He approached this issue with great care, politeness, and self-confidence:

> I would like to specially address some members here who might be concerned about the reality of the division of my country. I wish to express my deep appreciation on this occasion to the delegates of those countries with whom we have as yet no formal invitations for their initiative. . .and for their participation in sports events in our country.

In order to refute this weakness, Mr. Cho was not in a hurry. First, he expressed his appreciation to those who were concerned about the issue, and then touched on the status quo.

Later, he proposed a new idea for solution. This was one of the best examples of slowly but steadily building up one's claim, thus serving to gain attention.

Analysis II: Comprehension

A. Nagoya

1. Japan has Experience and Technology (Neutral-Negative)

Mr. Miyake stressed that Japan could successfully organize the '88 Olympics, because she has experience and technology. He guaranteed smooth operation of the Games based on "the experience already gained by Japan in organizing the Olympic Games in Tokyo and Sapporo." Further, he stressed "we will utilize the latest and highest technology being developed in Japan. . ."

It may be true that Japan has more experience than ROK in organizing international sports events. But what about Nagoya vis-a-vis Seoul? The speech did not touch specifically upon Nagoya's capability. Mr. Miyake said, "given the seven years of preparation time, Nagoya can assure you that the most modern facilities will be readied, utilizing the best of Japanese technology." The emphasis on Japanese technology was placed probably to refute the weakest point of Nagoya, that is, there were no facilities at that time. Nevertheless, this strategy did not work well, partly because the statements were rather abstract, without supportive evidence, and partly because the relevant sentences used too many qualifiers, future tenses, and superlatives. Moreover, emphasis was put on the technical aspects of Japan rather than conveying the enthusiasm of the citizens of Nagoya.

2. Political Stability and Guarantee of Smooth Operation (Neutral-Negative)

What kinds of strategies were employed in communicating Nagoya's foremost advantage and Seoul's clear-cut disadvantage? The speech resorted to the frequent use of direct statement without much substantiation. Mr. Miyake stated, "Japan is a very politically stable country," "Japan is the safest nation in the world, and security for the proper conduct of the Games will be ensured. . ." Referring to the opposition groups, Mr. Miyake refuted, "As Japan's political situation is quite stable, . . . we will surely be able to carry them quite successfully, even if there might be such groups."

It is questionable whether such direct messages about the political stability of Japan served the intended purpose. It was clear that Nagoya stressed this stability as her foremost advantage. Was this strategy in Nagoya's favor? Probably not. As a matter of fact, this was the point the press criticized most severely after they learned that Nagoya lost her bid. They criticized that the emphasis on this point might have invoked a sense of "self-complacency" and "optimism" of Japan as an economic super power.[59] The listeners probably got the impression that Japan was kindly offering a refuge or shelter for the IOC and athletes, for the Olympics in the past had suffered a lot politically. To put it differently, it conveyed a protector's attitude. "Please come to this safe place. Then, you don't have to be worried about anything." It seemed, however, that most of the IOC members had been aware of this political stability of Japan. By employing direct appeals too frequently, the audience's favorable attitude might have turned into an unfavorable one, thus helping to advance the cause of Seoul.

Another question that comes to mind was whether or not this strategy was in accord with the Olympic ideals. The

Olympic Charter states that the Olympics should promote better understanding among people from all over the world (Miller, 1979:240). Nagoya's assurance of smooth operation sounded rather a conservative one, short of positive contribution to the Olympic ideals. Thus, the rhetorical strategy of Nagoya, together with frequent use of direct appeal, future tenses, adjectives, and adverbs probably did not work well. On the contrary, the speech communicated a sense of uncertainty, complacency, as well as lack of spirit for challenge and enthusiasm.

B. Seoul

1. A Forum for Dialogue and Communication for Peace (Positive-Neutral)

Political tension in the Korean peninsula was a disadvantage for Seoul. As was discussed earlier, Seoul's strategy was to recognize this first, and to appreciate the listener's concern about this issue, and then refute it with a new perspective. Specifically, the speech emphasized this weakness as an area where IOC members could play an important role, that is, bringing peace to this region and the whole world by actually going to Seoul. Mayor Park declared:

> The Olympic Games in Seoul would accomplish the goal of the Olympic Movement of contributing to world peace, since the spirit of international goodwill through fair sportsmanship would help insure a true and lasting peace on Korean soil.

To further his assertion, Mayor Park stated, "Olympic Games in Seoul would truly be a forum for peace and broadened mutual understanding among all mankind." In a similar manner, Mr. Cho provided a new perspective by saying, "one of the most important roles the IOC plays in the quest of world peace is to provide a forum for dialogue and communication . . ."

The above is a beautiful example of "rhetoric of conversion" that turned a Seoul's disadvantage into an advantage. Seoul's speeches were in this sense successful in refutation, satisfying the ego-needs of the audience with suggestions for possible actions to be taken by the listeners. The audience must have felt that they were the ones who could bring peace to the troubled land. Provision of a new insight and new proposal with moral overtones might have impressed the listeners and hence served to command positive comprehension.

2. Facilities Almost Ready for Games (Positive)

How did Seoul communicate the reportedly clear-cut advantage? A brief look at the speeches reveals a number of devices employed to impress the listeners. Mr. Cho stated, for instance, "construction has been under way already for a number of years, . . . the city in 1977 secured a sports site of 545,000m which will include as its centerpiece the main stadium with a capacity of 100,000." He also added, "the stadium will be ready for use by 1983."

One can find out that the Korean speakers tried to avoid using personal pronouns as subjects in the sentences when speaking of these facilities. This seems to be effective in making an objective description of the situation in the speaker's favor, without invoking a negative response from the rival city. Other devices employed are proper use of adverbs and nouns to emphasize their strength. In addition, restatement, figures, and factual information seemed to work in favor of Seoul. Through effective use of rhetorical devices, these speeches spotlighted a vivid contrast to Nagoya, making the most of Seoul's strength: its almost completed facilities.

Moreover, it is worth noting that Seoul used testimony and even irony to dramatize its strength. For instance, Mr. Cho said, "this point [the sports facilities being almost completed] was well borne out by the delegates of the IOC, NOC and ISF who visited. . .to look into the sports facilities and related environment of Seoul." To endorse this point, Mr. Cho later said, "we have been too busy constructing facilities and somehow neglected to inform the sporting world about it." This sounded quite ironic, suggesting that Nagoya has been too busy informing the sporting world of their plan, and somehow neglected to construct the facilities.

3. **Burning Enthusiasm for Invitation** (Positive)

The Korean speakers conveyed their burning enthusiasm to welcome the Olympics to Seoul. Both speakers of Seoul directly appealed to the listeners, expressing their sincere appreciation of the listeners' attention, and the excitement of the citizens of Seoul. For instance, Mayor Park stated, "I have been deeply touched by the warm hospitality shown to all of us by the citizens of Baden-Baden, . . . I sincerely solicit your active support for all of our endeavors." Similarly, Mr. Cho appealed, "the people of Seoul join in this expectation for hosting the Games and they enjoy the full support and encouragement of all the people and the government of Korea."

In communicating their enthusiasm, Mr. Cho touched upon the Olympic principle of universality. He stressed, "it is important, . . . to share the hosting role among nations and thus spread the Olympic Movement throughout the world." He then boldly declared:

> I sincerely appeal to you the members of the IOC to support the courage and efforts which the City of Seoul has demonstrated, the first such endeavor ever undertaken by a developing country.

One can easily imagine how painful it is to call his own country a developing country, even though she is rapidly catching up with advanced countries. Such a bold definition of themselves must have been perceived as an expression of their sincerity and confidence. And at the same time, it indirectly suggested that Japan had already staged two Olympic Games in the past, and Nagoya's candidacy is not consistent with the Olympic principle of universality. Thus, comparison and contrast to Nagoya and reinforcement by strong appeal probably gained a high degree of comprehension.

Analysis III: Acceptance

A. Nagoya

1. Three Proofs (Neutral)

Dr. Azuma's proof was mostly emotional. It was full of strong personal tones. Hence, attention was naturally directed to Dr. Azuma himself, rather than helping to accept Nagoya's solicitation.

Mr. Miyake's proofs were rather counterproductive. There were some inconsistencies in his logical proofs. For example, he said, "two-thirds of the residents of Nagoya supported. . .," while later he stated, "an overwhelming majority of the Japanese are enthusiastic about inviting." Realistically, it is difficult to prove such a statement. Concerning his emotional proof, he used it rather improperly. For example, he condemned the opposition groups strongly, claiming that "their real aim is to destroy the Olympic Movement itself." The listeners, however, were not fully persuaded why those groups aimed to do so. He could have used a logical proof by asserting, for instance, that while these groups were concerned about the environmental effect the Olympics would have on our living condition, the recent study done by the city revealed that such effect would not be too serious.

Some favorable points were observed in Mr. Miyake's speech. He stressed:

> Since our coming here to Baden-Baden, we have further renewed our understanding of the tremendous potential and increasing importance the Olympic Movement has in the modern world, . . . we may add another successful chapter to the history of the Olympic Movement in 1988.

The noble and lofty ways of presenting his ethical proof might have helped in gaining the listeners' acceptance, even a little.

2. **Identification and Internalization** (Neutral-Negative)

Despite the carefully formulated strategy, Nagoya's presentation did not link its assertions with the ideas, values and frames of reference of the audience. With lack of such links between the speakers and the audience, chances are few that the listeners would identify themselves with the speakers' arguments and appeals. Actually, little was mentioned about the IOC members and Olympic ideals. Nagoya's assurance for smooth operation was overemphasized. Under such circumstances, it was difficult for the listeners to identify themselves with Nagoya, or to internalize the speakers' values so that they could vote for Nagoya.

What's more, the presentation failed to impress the listeners about Nagoya. They were not persuaded why it was significant to hold the Olympics in Nagoya, not Seoul. The speech of Mr. Miyake only partially succeeded in creating the sentiment of the moment. The language employed, however lofty it was, did not arouse in the minds of the listeners a feeling of sympathy, empathy or willingness to support Nagoya. Probably, those in favor of Nagoya had a neutral reaction, while those in favor of Seoul had a strongly negative reaction against Nagoya.

B. Seoul

1. Three Proofs (Positive-Neutral)

Seoul's speeches worked well in logical proof. As was discussed already in previous sections, Seoul's speeches employed various devices in their discourse to draw attention, and increase comprehension. These devices were also helpful in inducing identification and internalization. Above all, the manner in which Seoul's "Achilles' heel," political tension in the Korean peninsula, was refuted, was a good example. Important to note in this regard is that the audience's ego-needs were fully satisfied. *The Japan Times* reported:

> They [the IOC members] have no reason to be displeased by the prospect of being instrumental in promoting the spirit of reconciliation and peace between the two Koreas.[60]

The Korean speakers skillfully introduced various devices to change, modify and reshape the listener's ideas and values, thus making it possible to induce attitude change of the audience.

Campaign activities until the last moment of voting, even after the presentation, were crucial. Lobbying activities, greeting and final solicitation in front of the conference hall were important in reinforcing or strengthening the voters' choice in candidate's favor. In this respect, too, the Korean delegation wound up their final efforts in inducing identification and internalization.[61]

Conclusion

As soon as Nagoya's loss was made public, the Japanese press devoted quite a large space identifying the possible major causes. Ranging from IOC's principle of sharing the role among nations to lack of enthusiasm on the part of the citizens of Nagoya; more than a dozen reasons were cited.[62] While these criticisms and comments were freely made since Nagoya's loss is already history, there was very little discussion of the possible impact the presentations of both cities might have had on the final outcome. As a matter of fact, while the presentations by both cities were completed, only Nagoya's was favorably reported in the Japanese press, and very little was reported on Seoul's. So Japanese readers could not make a fair and comparative judgment of which one was more effective.

The Japanese readers had been handicapped by biased reporting by the news media. The reporters from each major Japanese newspaper had been dispatched to Baden-Baden, but they had difficulties covering what was going on in the competition between Nagoya and Seoul. Even though many Korean delegates were visible and active everywhere, the Japanese reporters did not have access to them, partly because of language problems.[63] As a result, they had a tendency to stick together and rely on the same sources of information for their reporting.[64] There is no wonder, therefore, that the contents of the reports among the major Japanese newspapers were almost identical with each other.

Rhetorically speaking, Seoul's presentation was more effective in many aspects. The speeches are the product of serious study. Their rhetorical strategies were formulated to refute their weakness while providing a new insight, and to stress their advantages without invoking a sense of resentment from the opponent. Also what was noteworthy was the clarification of their basic attitudes to the invitation of the Olympics, organization of discourse, paragraph development, use of logical, emotional, and ethical proof, as well as proper choice of words.

As for Nagoya's presentation, one can point out that there was a lack of coherent rhetorical strategy. Even though some devices incorporated into the speeches were partly effective, the problem was rather with the overall impression of the invitational speeches. Particularly, the manner in which certain themes of mutual concern were presented to the audience which turned out to be counterproductive. For instance, Nagoya's strength – political stability of Japan and experience gained by the Tokyo and Sapporo Olympics – had probably invoked strong negative reactions, just by the way these particular points were presented to the audience.

One can speculate at least two reasons why Nagoya's presentation lacked coherent rhetorical strategy. First, Nagoya's delegation was not adequately aware of the importance of presentation in terms of its influence on the outcome. Probably they regarded it as one of the rituals or ceremonies that accompany invitational campaigns. Hence, the speech was not considered to be a subject worthy of serious study. This was clearly not the case with Seoul. Second, Nagoya's delegation identified themselves with Japan, and they probably took a rather traditional view of Korea with certain stereotypes (Woon, 1983:3). For this reason, Nagoya might have underestimated the power and ability of her rival city in terms of her skill in international persuasion.

Persuasion in an international arena involves many factors that do not require careful consideration when the speech is intended for homogeneous or mono-cultural audiences. People from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds have different values and assumptions about their lives, their human relations, and their approaches to the problems they face. For instance, one dominant feature of American social interaction is based on "equality," whereas the Japanese place importance on "vertical relationship." Likewise, people from different cultures are likely to be persuaded for different reasons.

However, a number of international organizations are developing in the present world. The U.N., I.L.O., International Rotary Club, just to name a few. Those international organizations have gradually devleoped their own values and ideals through interaction among members from different cultures. The IOC is a good case in point. IOC members are united through their devotion to the Olympic Movement, and they share a lot of common experiences through their activities to promote Olympic ideals. Consequently, they come to share common sets of values, as well as sets of expectations of their own. The speaker, therefore, is required to study their values and expectations, before he engages himself in a campaign of persuasion.

In this connection, formulation of rhetorical strategies for presentation is quite necessary. In the case of Nagoya and Seoul rivalry, both parties used mainly English as a means of communication. Since English has its own logic, consideration on such matters as organization of the speech, methods for argumentation, proper choice of words must be incorporated into overall strategies.

To be more specific, many other questions can be asked in devising your rhetorical strategies. How should your weakness be refuted? How do you present your strength without directly criticizing your opponent? What about the traditional proofs? Do you need a lot of inside stories or anecdotes to make the speech interesting and alive? Is dramatization necessary? How serious should you be in communicating your view? How do you meet the expectation of the listeners? How are the self-interests of the listeners satisfied? How much detail should there be in your report? What kinds of evidence are you going to use? Will direct appeal work? These questions must be seriously asked before planning your rhetorical strategies.

In view of the complexities involved in formulation of strategies, we should realize that drafting of an invitational speech in international setting is a much more difficult task than is generally imagined. We should also bear in mind that the speech draft be left for last-minute revision, for the speech should be adjusted to the changing mood of the audience. And at the same time, a decision must be made who can most effectively communicate your views. The speaker's credibility may be very influential under certain circumstances.

Equally important is a need for the study of your rival, particularly his national character and communication characteristics. It just happened that the competition for the '88 Summer Olympics was between Nagoya and Seoul, close neighbors in North East Asia. A study shows that Koreans are more verbal, emotional as well as aggressive than Japanese in interpersonal and public communication situations.[65] In addition, because of unfortunate historical relations with Japan, the Koreans' attitude towar Japanese is far from that of respect and affection (Woon, 1983:7). It reports also that Koreans have a value system of expediency.[66] Several assumptions could have been drawn from these findings that the delegates from Seoul would make surprisingly energetic efforts even at the last stage of the game. Furthermore, because of some unfortunate historical relations with Japan, the Koreans' enthusiasm and tenacity to beat Japan could not have been underestimated. Without making careful studies of your rival, presentations in international settings cannot be effectively made.

One can draw several implications from the foregoing discussion for those involved in English education in Japan. First, we should realize that we are still poor in communicating in English what we really want to say to the international community. It may be true that enthusiasm among Japanese of learning English is even higher nowadays than before, and teachers are devoting themselves more to upgrading the speaking ability of the Japanese. However, the image of the Japanese abroad as poor English speakers is still prevalent. One major reason for this is, I believe, the mentality of the Japanese toward English. There seems to be a deep-rooted fear among Japanese that if you become too good at speaking English, you would be ostracized from the group you belong to. For instance, a very fluent speaker of English in Japan is likely to be regarded as less of a leader in political or industrial world, even though he may be considered an important liaison person with the world outside Japan. In other words, if you become an expert of English, you are no longer regarded as pure Japanese, so that you cannot occupy the highest position in Japanese organization. Perhaps for this reason, many Japanese students of English are learning English as necessary knowledge for understanding the world but not as a necessary skill to communicate with others. This passive attitude of the Japanese toward English should be changed, for I believe that it is possible for a Japanese to be a perfect Japanese and at the same time to be a capable international communicator.

Second, the Japanese attitude toward language should also be changed when they study English. Kunihiro argues that language has not received the same emphasis as in the West and it has been a poor policy to use words to express one's views and to persuade the other fellow (1973:97). In a similar way, public speaking or presentation is often regarded just as a ritualistic or ceremonial one. In such occasions as wedding reception, graduation ceremony, and political campaign speech, distinguished guests are invited and are expected to deliver their speeches. However, the speeches are rather ceremonial or ritualistic, reflecting the tradition in Japan. T.V. debates among political contenders are yet to be seen in Japan. On the contrary, the invitational speeches at Baden-

Baden clearly demonstrated that they were used not for ceremonies but for persuasion. I believe we should be more aware of the effect of spoken communication in international persuasion.

In this particular connection, I would suggest that English education in Japan should incorporate such fields as speech, group discussion and debate, most of which had been considered as a part of the extracurricular activities in Japanese universities. If students are given ample opportunities to express their views in English, they can learn how to speak to effectively influence others. At the same time, they can acquire the logic and reasoning patterns of English if properly guided. It is equally important for them to be given more time to evaluate or criticize the presentations of others so that they can develop their critical and analytical faculty. By so doing, they can come to grips with rhetoric which plays a vital role in persuasion as was discussed in this paper.

The failure of Nagoya provided a number of lessons for the Japanese. We often talk about Japan's "internationalization," but it is important for us to become aware that we still have a long way to go until we will be able to communicate effectively with the people from different cultures.

NOTES

1. *Asahi Shimbun* or *Asahi Newspaper* (Oct. 1, 1981).
2. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Evening Edition), Oct. 1, 1981).
3. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Aug. 25, 1977).
4. Ibid.
5. Osamu Miura and Ruichi Kanko, ed. *Events – News Stories in English, Japan: 19751-1981* (Tokyo: Tsurumi Shoten, 1981), pp. 30-32.

6. *Nagoya Olympics* No. 4 (Dec. 15, 1979). p. 31. This periodical was issued six times for public relations' purpose by the Council for Olympics during the period from 1978 until 1980.
7. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Evening Edition, Sept. 25, 1979).
8. The Nagoya '88 Olympic Council, ed. *Report on Invitational Activities by Nagoya City and Tokai Area for the 24th Summer Olympic Games* (Aug. 30, 1981), p. 22.
9. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Aug. 30, 1981).
10. Ibid (Aug. 30, 1981).
11. Ibid (May 18, 1978).
12. Ibid (Evening Edition, May 2, 1979).
13. Ibid (May 18, 1979).
14. Ibid (Evening Edition, Oct. 26, 1979).
15. *Asahi Shimbun* (Evening Edition, Oct. 26, 1979).
16. Ibid (Evening Edition, Jan. 21, 1980).
17. *Chunichi Shimbun* (May 25, 1980).
18. Ibid (Evening Edition, Oct. 17, 1980).
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid (Dec. 2, 1980).
21. *Asahi Shimbun* (Dec. 5, 1980).
22. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Dec. 17, 1980).
23. Ibid (Feb. 25, 1981).
24. *Mainichi Shimbun* (March 3, 1981).

25. *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* or *Japan Economic Newspaper* (April 4, 1981).

26. *Mainichi Shimbun* (July 22, 1981).

27. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Evening Edition, April 10, 1981).

28. *Asahi Shimbun* (Sept. 7, 1981).

29. Ibid (Sept. 9, 1981).

30. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Sept. 22, 1981).

31. *Chubu Yomiuri Shimbun* Sept. 27, 1981).

32. Ibid.

33. Personal Interview with Yohji Kawamura, Special Correspondent to Baden-Baden for Chunichi Newspaper Company, conducted on May 15, 1982.

34. *Asahi Shimbun* (Evening Edition, Sept. 24, 1981).

35. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Sept. 25, 1981).

36. Ibid (Sept. 27, 1981).

37. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Evening Edition, Oct. 1, 1981).

38. Ibid (Sept. 27, 1981).

39. Ibid (Sept. 25, 1981).

40. Ibid (Sept. 26, 1981).

41. Personal Interview with Yohji Kawamura.

42. Personal Interview with Yukihiko Ueda, Special Correspondent to Baden-Baden for Chubu Yomiuru Newspaper Company, conducted on May 26, 1982.

43. *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Oct. 1, 1981).

44. Personal Interview with Yukihiko Ueda.

45. *Chubu Yomiuri Shimbun* (Sept. 25, 1981).

46. *Asahi Shimbun* (Oct. 1, 1981).

47. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Sept. 26, 1981).

48. Ibid (Sept. 1981).

49. Personal Interview with Yohji Kawamura.

50. *Chunichi Shimbun* (Sept. 29, 1981).

51. Ibid (Sept. 30, 1981).

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid (Sept. 20, 1981).

54. The text of the Japanese presentation used for this paper was drawn from the *Report on Invitational Activities by Nagoya City and Tokai Area for the 24th Summer Olympics* (pp. 49-55) published by the Nagoya '88 Olympic Council in December 1981. Consequently, all of the quotations of Dr. Azuma and Mr. Miyake's words, phrases, and passages were drawn from this version.

55. Personal Interview with Tsutomu Aoyama, one of Nagoya's six official delegates who participated in the presentation, conducted on May 26, 1982.

56. For example, Mr. Miyake made an invitational speech in Lausanne for ISF members on April 8, 1981. See *Chunichi Shimbun* (April 9, 1981).

57. Personal Interview with Tsutomu Aoyama.

58. The text of the Korean presentation used for this paper was drawn from a copy of the presentations distributed to reporters during the presentation. Accordingly, all of the quotations of Mr. Park and Mr. Cho's words, phrases, and passages were drawn from this version.

59. *Asahi Shimbun* (Oct. 1, 1981).

60. *The Japan Times* (Oct. 2, 1981).

61. *Asahi Shimbun* (Oct. 1, 1981).

62. Ibid.

63. Personal Interview with Yohji Kawamura.

64. Ibid.

65. R. Dereck Liebenberg, "Japan Incorporated" and "The Korean Troops": A Comparative Analysis of Korean Business Organization, M.A. Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1982.

66. Ibid.

APPENDIX

The text of invitational speeches by the representatives of Nagoya and Seoul is attached as follows for reference.

TEXT OF PRESENTATIONS

NAGOYA

1) Taped Message by Ryutaro Azuma, President of the Nagoya '88 Olympic Council

Mr. President and Members of the International Olympic Committee.

Although I retired from the active membership and became an Honorary Member in 1968, my Olympic spirit and my interest in the Olympic movement has remained as ever.

When the City of Nagoya decided to invite the Games of 1988, my Olympic friends in Japan persuaded me, an octogenarian, to come out of retirement and accept the Presidency of the Nagoya '88 Olympic Council.

Remembering the excitement I, then Governor of Tokyo, experienced at the Munich Session of I.O.C., 22 years ago, when the honour to stage the Games of the 18th Olympiad was bestowed upon us, I have made up my mind to lead the Nagoya Delegation to Baden Baden for the official presentation of candidature.

To my deep regret, however, my doctor's advice has prevented me from making a travel abroad. Yes, my spirit is high but alas, my old bones are creaking, so to speak. And, therefore, I have asked Mr. Shigemitsu Miyake, one of the eminent leaders of Nagoya community and whom many of you have become acquainted with, to take my place. I sincerely hope, my dear Colleagues, that you would support him in order to give us the chance to see another Olympic Games in my country during my lifetime.

May I thank you, Mr. President and Members of I.O.C. for giving me the opportunity to address you through this tape?

2) Presentation by Shigemitsu Miyake, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Nagoya '88 Olympic Council

Mr. President, Distinguished Members of the International Olympic Committee, leaders and representatives of International Federations and National Olympic Committees, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is indeed a great honour and privilege for me to explain our plans for hosting the Games of the 24th Olympiad in Nagoya in 1988.

The words of Dr. Azuma, which you have just heard, have already expressed the aspirations, hopes and expectations of the citizens of Nagoya, and the Japanese nation as a whole. Therefore, my presentation will concentrate on concrete issues: how we are planning to organize the Olympic Games in Nagoya, and how we can assure you that – in the event we obtain your support and approval – the Games will be held in accordance with the traditions, spirit, and regulations of the Olympic Movement, while at the same time, meeting the requirements and wishes of the International Federations and National Olympic Committees which will be participating from throughout the world.

Nagoya, which we are proposing as the Olympic City for 1988, is rich in natural belssings, with long and rich cultural and historical traditions, flourishing industries, and a well-developed communications network. This region is one of the three largest industrial and cultural centers in Japan. The climate is mild, there are many scenic beauty spots and historic sites nearby, and the people are dedicated and industrious.

Thus, speaking from geographical, economic, cultural, and other perspectives, our region is fully capable of successfully organizing and managing the Olympic Games. And, in addition to these guarantees, I would like to stress that we will utilize the latest and highest technology being developed in Japan to ensure the Games' success.

The spirit and character of the people, the experience already gained by Japan in organizing the Olympic Games in Tokyo and Sapporo, our earnest wish to embody the true international understanding and world peace through the Games – these are, Ladies and Gentlemen, the foremost and solid guarantees we offer for the successful staging of the Games in 1988.

Now, allow me to explain a few major points of our plan for the 1988 Games that may interest you.

The first regards timing.

We propose holding the Games from October the 8th to the 23rd. The climate at this time is comfortably mild, with the daytime temperature around 20 degrees Centigrade, or 68 degrees Farenheit.

As you have seen in the film, at the time of the Games, you will be surrounded by beautiful scenery coloured with autumn leaves. There will be numerous traditional festivals as well.

The second point concerns the number of sporting events.

The sports program will be organized in accordance with the I.O.C. rules. All 21 sports of the Olympic Charter will be staged. The program of events will be adapted in accordance with any further changes proposed by the I.O.C. in the future.

Now, the third point:

Concerning the Olympic Village, it is our intention to build only one, accommodating 12,000 people, in the city area, which will be located within easy reach of the sites of all sports events. The planned site is quiet and pleasant, surrounded by trees. The village buildings, which are to be newly constructed for the Games, will be converted into a public housing complex after the Games are over. The village will also be provided with adequate practice grounds, medical facilities and other services. Detached accommodations for improved access to particular sports can also be provided if necessary.

One further point I would like to mention is that all Olympic facilities will be located within a radius of 30-40 kilos from the village. Even the yachting events will be within 90 kilos, which is very close when compared with recent Olympic Games.

The fourth point I would like to discuss concerns sports and training facilities.

In our plans we have estimated that some 31 sites will be required for competition. Of these, 21 already exist. The rest will be newly built. Here I wish to stress that, given the seven years of preparation time, Nagoya can assure you that the most modern facilities will be readied, utilizing the best of Japan's technology.

In addition, a total of 78 training facilities will be provided for various sports.

We have explained details regarding each sports facility and consulted with the leaders of the respective summer federations on the occasion of the meeting of the International Federations held in Lausanne in April this year. We were fortunate in receiving their kind advice, guidance and understanding.

The fifth point:

Turning to accommodations and other facilities, we can assure you that comfortable accommodations will be prepared for delegates, officials, visitors, and also the press, radio and TV personnel. Especially we are considering to provide quite pleasant and comfortable ones for the I.O.C. and IF members.

Also, many conference halls with modern facilities are available for the I.O.C. Session, the I.F. Congresses, the N.O.C. Assemblies, and other meetings.

Radio and TV centers and other working press facilities will also be readied. I can assure you of the highest possible standards for ensuring full world-wide coverage of the 1988 Games.

In terms of medical care, as we have numerous modern facilities with excellent doctors and staff, we are ready to observe all the instructions of the medical commission of the I.O.C.

The sixth point:

The transportation network in and around Nagoya includes taxis, buses, subways, and private and national railway systems, and visitors to Nagoya can take advantage of inexpensive, thoroughly safe and convenient transportation throughout the region.

We will furnish large and small buses and cars for officials and teams, to give them mobility for their special training and competition.

Special devices for traffic control similar to those used during the Tokyo Games can also be installed if necessary.

The seventh point:

Entry is fully guaranteed. Let me quote the letter of confirmation signed by Mr. Zenko Suzuki, Prime Minister of Japan. Quote:

> "The Japanese Government states that it will comply with the provisions of the Olympic Charter and will grant the right of entry into Japan to all persons duly accredited by the International Olympic Committee."

unquote. Japan is a very politically stable country, and enjoys diplomatic and friendly relations with almost all countries in the world.

As for security, I would like to emphasize that Japan is one of the safest nations in the world. And, as a matter of course, security for the proper conduct of the Games will be ensured by the appropriate public authorities.

The eighth point:

Regarding public support. We conducted our first public opinion surveys concerning the Games just two years ago, and found that two-thirds of the residents of Nagoya region supported hosting the 24th Olympiad.

Based on these survey results, the assemblies of Nagoya City and the three prefectures making up this region unanimously passed resolutions to invite the Games to Nagoya.

Last November, the Japanese Cabinet formally approved our candidacy, and this May both the Upper and Lower Houses of the Diet unanimously passed similar resolutions.

Some 170 other official and private organizations in many fields have also passed resolutions or otherwise expressed their support.

Thus, I believe you can see that an overwhelming majority of the Japanese people are enthusiastic about inviting the Games to Nagoya, and are supporting our candidacy.

However, I do not deny that there are also some small opposition groups in Japan. During the last few days, some of them have come here to Baden Baden to conduct a campaign, not only against the Nagoya games, but also against the whole Olympic Movement. Their real aim is to destroy the Olympic Movement itself.

Such groups are very small in Japanese society, and, their self-complacent logic is nothing but deceptions and full of malice.

I hope you all will kindly understand these real facts, and please not be misled by them.

As Japan's political situation is quite stable, if we are awarded to stage the Games, we will surely be able to carry them out quite successfully, even if there might be such groups.

Now, the ninth point:

Regarding the financing of the Games. The actual figures on construction and administration expenses for the Games have yet to be finalized. However, the rough estimates we have made so far show they will not greatly burden either the central or local governments. With this in mind, the three prefectures of Aichi, Gifu and Mie, and the Government of Japan, have approved the candidacy of Nagoya and declared their full support.

Moreover, there are various devices for reducing the burden on budgets to some extent.

Finally, another important point:

We are giving serious consideration to ways and means to reduce the air fares for teams coming from faraway nations in Africa, South America and other areas.

Also, we are considering methods of keeping accommodation costs within reasonable limits during the Games for the athletes, officials and the press.

These efforts are directed toward ensuring worldwide participation and thus maintaining the universality of the Olympic Movement.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I believe I touched on some of the major points of our candidacy.

And, in conclusion, in proposing for 1988, we feel an even greater sense of responsibility. This is because, since our coming here to Baden Baden, we have further renewed our understanding of the tremendous potential and increasing importance the Olympic Movement has in the modern world. Japan is a faithful supporter of this movement, as you are fully aware.

And now, we are determined to fulfill our responsibility – faithfully – and completely, so that that we may add another successful chapter to the history of the Olympic Movement in 1988.

Thank you for your attention.

SEOUL

1) Proposal to Host the Games of the 24th Olympiad in Seoul in 1988 by Young-su Park, Mayor, City of Seoul

Honorable Mr. President Juan Antonio Samaranch, Distinguished members of the International Olympic Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I sincerely thank you for the honor and privilege of addressing this important sesson of the International Olympic Committee to express the earnest desire of the eight million citizens of Seoul to host the 1988 Olympic Games.

I am grateful to the members of the IOC and various national delegates for their encouragement and support of our candidature. We extend our thanks also to President Willi Daume and members of the National Olympic Committee of Germany for capably organizing this session of the IOC. I have been deeply touched by the warm hospitality shown to all of us by the citizens of Baden-Baden.

At this very moment, the 38 million people of the Republic of Korea, and especially the citizens of Seoul, are focusing their attention and expectations on this IOC session, which will decide the host city for the Games of the 24th Olympiad in 1988. They hope and desire from the bottom of their hearts that each and every member of the IOC will support Seoul's candidature.

Many years ago, the City of Seoul initiated long range plans to develop facilities suitable for holding the Olympic Games. Construction has been underway already for a number of years, and I believe our response to the IOC Questionnaire reflects the energetic and dedicated efforts we have been making in preparation for the Olympic Games.

Distinguished members of the International Olympic Committee!

I am not proposing Seoul as the site for the 1988 Olympics, simply because facilities both already built and now under construction would best meet the requirements of the Olympic Games. This is, of course, a very important consideration. But even more important, we believe that Olympic Games in Seoul would accomplish the goal of the Olympic Movement of contributing to world peace, since the spirit of international goodwill through fair sportsmanship would help insure a true and lasting peace on the Korea soil.

I'm certain that a decision by the IOC to hold the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul would be a most important act in furthering its goal of world peace. Olympic Games in Seoul would truly be a forum for peace and broadened mutual undertanding among all mankind.

I sincerely solicit your active support for all of our endeavors. I should be delighted to be able to invite all of you to the Seoul Olympics of 1988 in the hope that you would enjoy the traditional warmth and hsopitality that is characteristic of the Korean people.

President Sang-Ho Cho of the Korean Olympic Committee will continue to brief you in detail on Seoul's plans for hosting the Olympics in 1988.

Thank you very much.

2) Presentation by Sang-Ho Cho, President Korean Olympic Committee

Mr. President, Honorable members of the International Olympic Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen.

As President of the Korean Olympic Committee, I am pleased to inform you that in connection with the application submitted by the City of Seoul for hosting the 1988 Summer Olympic Games, our committee has rendered all possible cooperation and assistance as required by the spirit of the International Olympic Committee Charter and other relevant regulations.

As the Mayor, on behalf of the citizens of Seoul, has just made clear, he is determined to host the 1988 Olympic Games. The people of Seoul join in this expectation for hosting the Games and they enjoy the full support and encouragement of all the people and the government of Korea.

At this moment, 8.5 million Seoul citizens are watching this IOC session with great eagerness. They are hopeful for the support of each of the IOC members.

With a long-standing view toward hosting the Olympic Games, Seoul City, already in the 1970s, made detailed investigation into its possibilities for hosting the games and began to take concrete steps in this regard.

For example, the City in 1977 secured a sports site of 545,000m^2 which will include as its centerpiece the main stadium with the capacity of 100,000.

With 60% of the construction already completed, it is expected that the stadium will be ready for use by 1983.

In 1979, the city secured 2,640,000m^2 of land in the suburbs for building a National Sports Complex which would be appropriate for 1988 Summer Olympic Games.

I believe that the distinguished members of the IOC have a good understanding of the plan and efforts of Seoul City for hosting the 1988 Summer Olympic Games, by virtue of its replies to questionnaires submitted to the IOC. Since the time for my presentation is limited, I'll summarize only salient points.

First, Seoul is the capital of the Republic of Korea. It has transportation, communication, accommodation, cultural and other facilities comparable to those of other cities which have successfully hosted the Olympic Games in the past.

Second, the City of Seoul has successfully organized and hosted the

42nd World Shooting Championships in 1978, the 8th World Women's Basketball Championships in 1979, the 2nd Asian Athletic Championships in 1975, and other important international events. Seoul's plan to host the Olympic Games is based upon these valuable experiences in managing international games and events.

Third, except for a few special facilities required for the Olympics, Seoul already has most of the necessary sports facilities, including the main and auxiliary stadiums, either fully completed and in use or in advanced stage of construction.

Most of the required facilities including Olympic Village are concentrated in close proximity of the sports complex, and are linked by subways and road-ways presently in existence so that we do not face transportation difficulties.

Fourth, Korea has two broadcasting stations with nationwide networks and one earth station with an international transmitting system using two Pacific and Indian circuit lines.

In addition, Korea plans to erect two more earth stations, and one reserve station, which will be adequate to cover the 1988 Olympic Games.

Fifth, Seoul receives more than one million foreign tourists each year who enjoy free and safe travelling. A large number of international sports events have been hosted in Seoul to the satisfaction of all participants. At these meetings, all affiliated federations have been invited without exception. In short, there is no cause for concern about the free and safe entry and exit of Olympic officials, athletes, and spectators participating in the Olympic Games.

In order to ensure this principle in regard with the Olympic Games, the Republic of Korea has submitted to the IOC an official letter guaranteeing the free entry and exit for all. I know that many IOC members present here have visited Korea, and I think that they are in a position to bear out my statement.

Sixth, the medical facilities and medical staff in Seoul City are entirely efficient to meet all IOC requirements, including the administration of doping tests. In this matter, we pledge full cooperation with the IOC medical commission.

Seventh, Korea has a large number of well trained and skilled people who have received advanced education. Especially, there are colleges and universities which provide instruction in foreigan languages and training for language specialists. This will resolve any possible language barriers for officials and athletes who will come to Seoul for the Olympics.

Eighth, Seoul City can provide adequate Olympic cultural programs based upon its unique cultural heritage and characteristics. Seoul will set up an Olympic Youth Camp in a scenic sport near Seoul so that the young people of the world may have glimpses of Korea, the "Land of the Morning Calm."

Ninth, Korea has maintained a high annual economic growth rate of 10% in the 1970s and is expected to sustain its economic growth in the 1980s.

Given this prospect of economic development, Seoul will be able to provide even better facilities and environment to meet the needs of the 1988 Olympic Games.

Tenth, I wish to emphasize as an important point that Seoul and the Republic of Korea, have never hosted the Olympic Games. Considering the Olympic principle of universality, of free and full participation of all peoples and nations, it is important, and indeed stated many times at this congress, to share the hosting role among nations and thus spread the Olympic Movement throughout the world. Accordingly, award of the Games to Seoul is acting along the principle laid down with the Olympic Charter.

I sincerely appeal to the members of the IOC to support the courage and efforts which the City of Seoul has demonstrated by its initiative to host the 1988 Olympic Games, the first such endeavor ever undertaken by a developing country in the history of the Olympics.

Mr. President, The Republic of Korea faithfully upholds the spirit of sportsmanship stipulated in the Charter of the IOC!

I would like to specially address some members here who might be concerned about the reality of the division of my country. I wish to express my deep appreciation on this occasion to the delegates of those countries with whom we have as yet no formal relations, for their invitations to our officials and players to participate in the sports events held in their countries, and for their participation in sports events in our country.

I am convinced that one of the most important roles the IOC plays in the quest for world peace is to provide a forum for dialogue and communication through sports events for countries having differing political ideologies.

I believe that Seoul has sufficient capabilities to hold the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in view of its conditions and of the international status enjoyed by the Republic of Korea.

This point was well borne out by the delegates of the IOC, NOC and ISF who visited Korea early this year to look into the sports facilities and related environment of Seoul.

Mr. President, Distinguished Members of the IOC, we have perhaps been too busy constructing facilities and somehow neglected to inform the sporting world about it.

The City of Seoul firmly pledges to you that it will promote friendship among other participating countries through the 1988 Olympic Games, and that it will contribute to the advancement of world peace by the effective and harmonized management of the Olympic events. It appeals to you to take the principle of spreading the Olympic Movement throughout the world into your consideration. It guarantees mentally and logistically that it will be ready to host the Games.

Our motto is Friendship, Harmony, and Peace.

I sincerely hope to have the opportunity of welcoming all the IOC members gathered here at the grand opening ceremony for the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in the main stadium in Seoul. It will be a great honor and pleasure for me personally as well as in my official capacity.

Finally, I am pleased to announce that I have with me a film which shows the existing and planned facilities in Seoul and the overall developing situation of the city. This will assist to bring closer to reality what I have stated in my presentation.

I hope those members who have never visited Seoul will gain some insights into the City of Seoul, and after the film the Korean delegation would be very glad to respond to any questions you might raise.

Thank you.

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MEASURING WRITING PROFICIENCY OF COLLEGE ESL STUDENTS

Ho-Peng Lim

Abstract

Previous studies on writing proficiency of college students have focused primarily on native English writers; few have focused on writers for whom English is a second language. The current educational trend shows that more and more ESL students are pursuing college-level education in English-speaking universities abroad, and that proficiency in writing is a major academic requirement for these ESL students. Many of these second language learners may have obtained the required basic qualifications to allow them to undertake college work but they still need additional writing instruction and practice before they can meet the standards set in traditional freshmen composition courses. This paper addresses the need for more research in the area of assessment of writing proficiency of college ESL students. Research in the writing of college ESL students is still in the infant stages. More research will be needed in order to help determine how college ESL students function as writers, how competent they are, or how they differ from or are similar to native speakers in their writing abilities.

Ho-Peng Lim teaches ESL at the National University of Malaysia. He obtained his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from UCLA and his Ed.D. from California Western University. He also holds the F.C.P. (London). Currently he is the 1983/84 Longman Fellow in English Language at the University of London.

Introduction

Teachers preparing English as a Second Language (ESL) students for college-level work have for some time felt the need for a direct measure of their students' ability to produce syntactically mature prose. An instrument that could directly measure second language learners' ability to control syntactic structures while attempting to produce mature writing, would be of practical value to ESL teachers interested in facilitating the language development of their students.

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the need for more research in the assessment of writing proficiency of college ESL students. Previous studies on syntactic maturity levels, and on differences in syntactic structures, have focused primarily on native English writers; few have focused on writers for whom English is a second language.

Research in the Area of Writing

For several decades now researchers in the area of writing have tried to describe in objective, quantitative and revealing terms what syntactic differences can be observed in the writing of schoolchildren and adults at varying stages in their language development. Following the publication of Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957), considerable research has been carried out that examines various performance aspects of syntactic complexity.

Research in the writing of college ESL students, however, is still in the beginning stages. There are many articles which present research results of groups of students but little information is readily available regarding how college ESL students function as writers, how competent they are, or how they differ from or are similar to native speakers in their writing abilities.

In addition to the fact that research in ESL writing has not provided us with universally accepted theoretical or practical answers, there is the fact that current research in second language learning has developed in several directions.

In the last two decades, although there was strong concern for research on writing and on written products, Braddock, Lloyd-Jones, and Schoer (1963:5) came to the conclusion that "today's research in composition, taken as a whole, may be compared to chemical research as it emerged from the period of alchemy: some terms are being defined usefully, a number of procedures are being refined, but the field as a whole is laced with dreams, prejudices, and makeshift operations." After surveying much of the then existing research on writing, Braddock, Lloyd-Jones, and Schoer outlined basic problems in conducting research in writing, and showed potential researchers how to refine the "structure and technique" of their studies.

Although Braddock, Lloyd-Jones, and Schoer (1963:31-32) identified new questions which were likely to lead researchers into "unexplored territory," and indicated the need for "direct observation" and case study procedures in their suggestions for future research, they heavily emphasized pedagogical, comparison-group studies. They raised pertinent questions, such as "What is involved in the act of writing?" and "What does skill in writing actually consist of?", which could lead to basic research in writing, but their emphasis was on studies that appeared to assume we already had a thorough understanding of writing and the written products.

Unlike those researchers cited by Braddock, et al., many researchers in the 1970's and 1980's like Hunt (1970a, 1977), Odell, Cooper and Courts (1978), Faigley (1979), Sharma (1979, 180), Flahive and Snow (1980), Gaies (1980), Ferris and Politzer (1981), McKay (1981), Buchanan (1982), Harris (1982), Jones (1982), and Zamel (1983), make no such assumption. Rather, these researchers raise questions which invite us to test, to examine, and to modify our basic assumptions about writing and syntactic complexity among college students.

Research in First Language Composition

Early researchers into syntactic complexity, such as Loban (1963), Hunt (1964, 1965, 1966, 1968) and O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris (1967), concentrated their studies mainly on children who were native speakers of English. Hunt (1964, 1965, 1966, 1968, 1970a, 1970b and 1977), the name most often associated with research in syntactic development, adopted the technique of dividing groups of words into what he identified as "minimal terminable units" or T-units.

In one of his early studies Hunt (1965) investigated the free writing of schoolchildren in grades 4, 8, and 12, and the writing of skilled adults who wrote for *Harper's* and *Atlantic* magazines. Each grade group consisted of a total of 18 students, nine male and nine female. The group of skilled adults who were native speakers of English was made up of nine from each magazine. In this study Hunt used the T-unit as his main measuring device to examine the syntactic development in the free writing of his subjects. The study by O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris also used the T-unit as one of their measures in studying syntactic development in both the speech and free writing of kindergarten and elementary schoolchildren.

The findings by Hunt (1965) and O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris (1967) reveal that there is evidence to indicate that throughout the school years, from kindergarten to graduation, English-speaking children learn to use a larger and larger number of sentence-combining transformations per main clause in their writing.

The studies by Hunt (1965) and O'Donnell, Griffin, and

Norris (1967) have dealt with two different kinds of free writing. It is therefore possible to assume that the influence of subject matter upon the sentence structures produced by the subjects could be an important factor for consideration in determining the progressive increase in syntactic complexity. Generally, older writers tend to write on more sophisticated subjects or to deal with ordinary subjects in more sophisticated ways, and in studies like these, the subject and the treatment of the subject might have had as much to do with the sentence structures chosen as the age and syntactic capabilities of the writers.

Since the studies by Hunt (1965) and O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris (1967), a vast amount of research on writing ability of native speakers of English has been carried out. Investigators such as Mellon (1969), O'Hare (1973), Combs (1976), Maimon and Nodine (1978), Mulder, et al. (1978), Daiker, et al. (1978), Morenberg, et al. (1978), Faigley (1979) and Haswell (1981), have used the T-unit as an index of syntactic maturity to demonstrate that sentence-combining exercises can accelerate significantly the syntactic growth of widely disparate age groups among native speakers of English.

Other studies on the assessment of writing proficiency of native speakers have been carried out by Hunt (1970a, 1977), Stewart (1978), Freedman (1980), King (1981), and Corwhurst (1980). Collectively, these studies have demonstrated that syntactic complexity (that is, the effective use of subordinate clauses) develops chronologically in the writing of English-speaking subjects.

Hunt's study (1970a) makes use of a rewrite passage with native speakers of English. He studies the rewriting abilities of groups of students, 50 in each group, at grades 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12, and then compares these with groups described as "average" and "skilled" adults. Hunt examines a number of factors and measures syntactic development in his subjects.

From an analysis of syntactic structures written by the subjects, Hunt finds that the level of syntactic complexity of all his subjects increases consistently as they mature and progress through the formal education system. "Average" adults are shown to be slightly above grade 12 while there is a sharp rise in the level of complexity shown by "skilled" adults over that of the grade 12 and "average" adult groups.

Using the same instrument and procedures employed in 1970 by Hunt to measure writing proficiency, Stewart reports on an experiment to determine whether growth in syntactic maturity continues to increase as a person leaves high school and proceeds through six years of study in a university. His native English-speaking subjects are drawn from 126 students from grades 10, 11, and 12, and 176 university students. Stewart finds Hunt's procedures and measures to be useful in measuring writing proficiency among his subjects.

From his experiment Stewart concludes that:

(a) students in the first three years of university do not display significant gains in syntactic maturity over levels reached in the last years of high school;

(b) students in the fifth and sixth years of university do display gains over high school and lower level university students; and

(c) mean words per T-unit appears to be the best of those measures of syntactic growth employed by Hunt.

Stewart (1978:46) advocates replication of his study and further research in the area of writing proficiency of college students in order that the entire question of the nature of syntactic maturity and the measurement of its development "be re-examined and subjected to much more investigation." Stewart concludes that "the identification and assessment of desirable changes in students' writing are no mean chores, and right now, this particular line of approach looks most promising." (46)

Although all the studies mentioned so far have implicitly or explicitly indicated growth in syntactic complexity in the writing of native speakers of English, there is reason to believe that the impact of syntactic development, vis-á-vis the writing proficiency of college ESL students has not been adequately examined.

Research in ESL Composition

The history of this research is limited since only a very few studies to date have involved the measurement of writing proficiency of ESL or foreign language learners at all levels of education. It appears that research on writing in general and on ESL writing in paticular, has yet to produce work that would ensure wide recognition for the value of process studies in composition. One possible limitation of work done to date is methodological

Perl (1979:317), describing the state of research on writing, indicates that narrative descriptions of the writing process "do not provide sufficiently graphic evidence for the perception of underlying regularities and patterns." Without such evidence, she contends, it is difficult to generate well-defined hypotheses and to move from exploratory research in writing to more controlled experimental studies. Perl points out that one limitation pertains to the subjects studied: to date not many examinations of the writing process have dealt primarily with subjects for whom English is a second language.

With the recent growth of and interest in the assessment of writing proficiency in ESL, researchers like Larsen-Freeman and Strom (1970), Larsen-Freeman (1978), Sharma (1979, 1980), Kameen (1979), Flahive and Snow (1980) and Gaies (1980), have acknowledged the need for an index of development by which an ESL learner's proficiency in the English language should be gauged.

Kameen (1979:343) argues that in order to "better prepare composition teachers to help their ESL students learn to write," it is essential to have "a more thorough understanding of the relationship between syntactic skill and ESL writing quality, an understanding based on a solid body of empirical data." From the results of an exploratory study to determine if there was a correlation between syntactic skills and scores assigned to compositions written by college-level ESL students, Kameen (1979:349) concluded that "in terms of length of writing units, T-unit length and clause length appear to be much more reliable indices of rated quality than is the time-honored index of sentence length."

While Flahive and Snow (1980) concede that "there is far more writing than length of T-unit or clause per T-unit," they acknowledge that these measures are "relatively useful in determining levels of overall ESL proficiency and in predicting the overall effectiveness of writing ability."

Consequently, the T-unit as an index of measurement for writing proficiency, first used by Hunt (1970a, 1970b, 1977), has found favor in ESL research in recent years. The T-unit was first adopted in the form of error-free T-unit by Scott and Tucker (1974), who wanted an index of measurement which reflected error frequency as well as syntactic complexity in the writing of their experimental subjects. Both the T-unit and the error-free T-unit have come to be recognized by both first language and second language researchers as easily computable, objective measures of syntactic growth in writing proficiency, and are far more valid than the traditional measures, such as sentence length.

Larsen-Freeman and Strom (1977) state that the T-unit is a viable measure on which to base an index of ESL development. In fact, in her research, Larsen-Freeman (1978) has found that the average number of words per error-free T-unit discriminates very well between different levels of ESL proficiency. Her study, however, poses a problem with an uneven distribution of subjects among her groups, and there have been several overlapping standard deviations. Larsen-Freeman points out that her groups are not homogenous regarding proficiency, which means that any one individual may fit into more than one group based on any one of her indices of writing proficiency taken alone.

Other studies on language development and on college-student writing that have utilized the T-units in an ESL context, have been carried out by Arthur (1979), Celce-Murcia and Santos (1979), Perkins (1980), and Ferris and Politzer (1981).

Arthur's study on the measurement of writing proficiency of English as a Second Language students at the University of Michigan indicates that assessment of writing proficiency does provide an objective look at some short-term changes that could occur in the writing skills of learners of ESL. Using nine measurements made on each of 152 compositions written by 14 lower-intermediate level ESL students, Arthur determines a number of changes in the writing skills of his students. From his analysis Arthur (1979:342) concludes that "the most notable improvements were in writing speed and in vocabulary size." Although Arthur has used T-units in three of the nine measurements to measure grammatical sophistication, he reports that "there was no significant change" in the frequency of grammatical errors. Although an exploratory study, Arthur's work is an example of research that has used measures based on the T-units to measure language development of students based on samples of their writing.

Drawing on the work of Larsen-Freeman (1978) and Arthur (1979), Celce-Murcia and Santos (1979) have utilized T-units and error-free T-units to measure the writing proficiency of a native user of American Sign Language studying ESL over a period of one year. At the end of the year both researchers found that there was a "striking increase" in ESL language development, particularly in the number of words, the average length of T-units, and the average length of the error-free T-units. This study by Celce-Murcia and Santos appears to be the first to utilize T-units and error-free T-units in studying the developing features of the inter-language of a native user of American Sign Language studying English as a Second Language.

Perkins (1980) has utilized T-units and error-free T-units as two of ten objective measures of writing proficiency to evaluate compositions written by advanced level ESL students at the Center of English as a Second Language, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Perkins (1980:67) finds that "objective measures which take the absence of errors into account discriminate among holistic qualitative judgments of compositions from one level of proficiency." His conclusion is that whatever measures are isolated will have to be error-free if they are to discriminate among compositions written by advanced-level students of English as a Second Language.

Ferris and Politzer (1981) adopt the T-unit evaluation of writing proficiency to measure differences in ESL writing skills of a group of Spanish-speaking junior high school students. The investigators use three indices of writing measurement for their research: (1) the average clause length, (2) the number of words per T-unit, and (3) the number of clauses per T-unit. Although their findings do not reveal significant results for clause length and average number of clauses per T-unit, Ferris and Politzer (1981:267) contend that ESL students "who write large T-units are generally accepted as better writers by teachers and writing authorities because they possess greater flexibility in the kinds of sentences they can write."

In summarizing the trends in experimental procedures and analyses of the writing proficiency studies with college ESL learners, it is possible to see that, by and large, variables such as sex, age, major subject area, or length of time studying the English language, have not been controlled for nor have subjects been specifically described in terms of some standardized measures, such as Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency, which could facilitate replication. In the major findings and conclusions of the studies on college ESL writers, no single index has proven satisfactory as *the* predictor of ESL writing proficiency.

Conclusions

In language learning the development of a learner's syntactic component is a continuous process. The syntactic component responds to demands made upon it rather as muscles respond when working with increasingly heavy weights. This process is as active with second language college students as with native speakers of English.

Many second language learners who have obtained the required proficiency to allow them to take college-level courses often need additional writing instruction and practice before they can meet the standards set in traditional freshman competition courses.

Proficiency in writing is a major academic requirement for learners of ESL preparing for college-level work, whether in overseas or local colleges. ESL teachers preparing such students have for some time felt the need for a direct measure of their students' ability to produce syntactically mature prose. Many existing language tests and measurements, because of their emphasis on objectivity and reliability, have encouraged the use of indirect measurement of writing skills.

Facilitating second language learners' control over written structures to a degree approximating that of native speakers is the major objective of most college ESL teachers. To evaluate this facilitation, indirect measures like the TOEFL, the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency, university placement and proficiency tests such as the English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE) at the University of California at Los Angeles are generally used. These measures have, at best, concurrent validity. Recognition of correct syntax is generally not synonymous with correct production of syntax. An instrument which could directly measure second language learners' ability to control syntactic structures while attempting to produce mature writing, would be of more practical value to college ESL teachers interested in facilitating the language development of their students.

At present, in most colleges where there are ESL classes, syntactic structures are taught at a variety of proficiency levels with some structures being taught at the "low" level, some at the "intermediate" level, and others at the "advanced" level. It might be difficult to define precisely the "low," "intermediate," and "advanced" levels except in qualitative and subjective terms. Some syntactic structures have to be taught first, and some last. If teachers of ESL knew what structures tended to be used at the different levels of proficiency, such knowledge might be one consideration, though not the only one, in helping them decide what should be taught when.

The main aim of this paper is to emphasize that as long as native speakers of English are the focus, it remains unclear as to how research on writing will provide teachers with a firmer understanding of the needs of college ESL students with serious writing problems. Due to inadequate research or to the manner in which the data has been elicited or the insufficient amount of data in the samples, not much is known about the syntactic characteristics in the writing of college ESL students at varying stages in their English language development.

A more thorough understanding of these syntactic characteristics in the writing of college ESL students, an understanding based on a body of empirical data, will better prepare composition teachers of ESL to meet the writing needs of their students. The findings of such studies, based on a body of empirical data, apart from the contribution to knowledge of college ESL learners' mastery of the English language, will provide useful information for curriculum planners preparing writing courses in ESL, and for teaching methods in the ESL writing classrooms. These studies will also contribute knowledge to the field of applied linguistics by shedding some light on the difficulties and successes college ESL learners encounter in developing control over the written language.

It is hoped that more studies in the area of writing will focus on students for whom English is a second language. The results of such studies would be extremely useful to teachers preparing ESL students for college-level work both in the local and foreign institutions of higher learning.

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SIGN LANGUAGE IN ESOL

Masayo Yamamoto

Abstract

Recent research implies that, under certain conditions, English may be taught more effectively when it is used as the medium of instruction than as the subject. This paper explores the possible use of sign language as an activity in ESOL classrooms to be conducted in the medium of English. The physical and graphic qualities of sign language may make it uniquely useful in linking previous experiences to the target language without reference to the native language, thus breaking the translation cycle which hinders expressive use of the target language.

Introduction

In Japan, English is taught in the public schools beginning at the junior-high level. From my teaching experiences, I find that by the end of the first semester students can be classified into two groups: those who are still curious about English and are interested in studying further, and those who already find themselves humiliated and confused, have begun to detest English and have given up further devotion to its study,

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except as another chore to be done. Even if the actual difference in language proficiency is not great, the motivation gap is very real, becoming more pronounced with increasing years of study. In searching for something to bridge this gap, I have begun to consider the use of sign language as an additional technique for the ESOL classroom.

Why Sign Language?
Some Rationales and Justifications

One of the .most interesting finds to come out of recent research is some confirmation of the notion that English used as the medium of instruction is more valuable for the mastery and retention of English language skills than the study of English per se (Lambert & Tucker 1972; Saegert, Perkins & Tucker 1974; Tucker & D'Anglejan 1974; Harrison, Prator & Tucker 1975; Krashen & Terrell 1983). The implications of these studies are very profound in terms of both teacher qualifications and curriculum design. One implication would seem to be that teachers' non-linguistic skills, talents or knowledge (e.g., auto mechanics, cooking, etc.) may find valid expression in the ESOL classrooms. Another implication is that the subject chosen for teaching via the English medium should be interesting, relatively unfamiliar to all the students equally, and a subject in which progress is easily observable even by the students themselves. Sign language could fit these criteria.

The use of sign language for ESOL teaching may give the poorer students – and the better students, as well – the opportunity of a new challenge and, by returning all the students to an equal footing again, might be able to alleviate the humiliation factor, at least temporarily.

Despite its current state of theoretical disrepute, the translation method still prevails in Japanese school systems, as well as in many other foreign language teaching situations. This method has some economic and administrative advantages: non-natives can teach without actually being good speakers themselves and it is relatively easy for the non-native teacher to evaluate the students' mastery of assigned material. Also, in Rivers' words, "[t]he teacher does not need to show much imagination in planning his lessons since he usually follows the textbook page by page and exercise by exercise" (Rivers 1968:17). We need not dwell upon the defects, however, for Rivers again sums them up concisely: ". . . communication skills are neglected; there is a great deal of stress on knowing rules and exceptions, but little training in using the language actively to express one's own meaning, even in writing" (Rivers 1968:17). Students who have been taught through the translation method tend to translate each word into their native language; the thrust of recent research is to strongly suggest that this cycle be broken.

The question is, in order to break the cycle, how to build direct links between new L2 vocabulary and previous experiences. To the students, a new word is little more than a meaningless sequence of sounds or letters. The crucial difference between the native language and a foreign language, however, is the fact that words may evoke past experiences more easily in the mother tongue. The native speaker encountering a new word in his own language may vividly recall experiences in his mother tongue to relate this new word to, but the foreign student must build up links somewhat artificially and purposefully, not naturally and spontaneously. One way to build up these links is to establish a route via the first language, which is, of course, the translation method. Breaking the translation cycle involves building these links directly. Meaningful experience is seen as a very important – perhaps the most important – factor for learning (which is, of course, what ESOL theoreticians have been saying for years, but which is not easy to implement).

Among ways of increasing the number of meaningful experiences in the language classroom, those involving physical activity have been in the forefront of the "new methodologies."

For example, the drama approach offers alternative attempts to achieve the mission without the intermediate translation step. Via writes:

> The drama method offers a chance for the students to use and understand the language from the gut level. They can become involved in the situation and discover the how and why of the language. They are learning through the experience of communicating in the language; thus, their understanding of the language is greatly enhanced. (1976:6)

And Maley and Duff say:

> Drama attempts to put back some of this forgotten emotional content into language – and to put the body back too. (1978:2)

Asher, who is the leading advocate of Total Physical Response (Asher 1969, 1972; Asher, Kusudo & de la Torre 1974), believes that meaningful experience helps to link new vocabulary items directly to the set of concepts which are internalized in each individual. Asher words it as follows:

> It seems clear . . . that most students (about 80%) can rapidly internalize the linguistic code – the structure of the language and vocabulary – when language is synchronized with actual movements of the student's body. (Asher, Kusudo & de la Torre 1974:26)

Sign language may also be a useful tool for breaking the translation cycle. If we could enable the student to internally visualize an input more graphically (Hall 1976), we might be able to tap the internalized concepts without going through the mother tongue.

Before formally proposing the use of sign language as a TESOL tool, allow me first to present a brief technical description of it, so that its unique advantages may be more easily appreciated.

The Sign Language Systems and Sign Categories

A. The Sign Language Systems

". . .There is no such thing as a single Sign Language. The terms [sic], Sign Language, refer to any and all gesture languages" (Fant 1972:iii). Although there are many sign languages in the world that might be considered for use as a TESOL activity, considering all of them is beyond the scope of this paper. By *sign language* here I wish to limit my meaning to the language used exclusively by deaf people in the United States. The prototype language of deaf signs was introduced to America in 1817 by Thomas Gallaudet and Laurent Clerc from France, where it had been developed and refined for about 60 years at the Abbe de l'Eppe's school for the deaf. At present there are two main patterns of sign language used most by deaf people in the United States: Siglish and Ameslan.

1) Siglish (Signed English)

Siglish was promoted to teach English to deaf people. It follows the grammatical order of English. It substitutes signs for English words and uses fingerspelling frequently. "It is English presented visually on the hands, rather than orally by the voice" (Fant 1972:iii).

2) Ameslan or ASL (American Sign Language)

Ameslan has its own syntax, different from that of English. The signs convey concepts and facial and body expressions play a very important role to convey meanings. Fingerspelling is little used.

In order to avoid confusion, hereafter I will use the term *SIGN* in upper case letters to refer to either of these two systems. In lower case letters, *sign* will refer to the visual representation of a word or letter.

B. Categories of Signs

Signs may be categorized into three groups, depending on the closeness of the relationship between the signs and their referents.

1) Natural signs: those which seem to be universally understood without any explanations; very close to mime.

   eat
   hear
   drink
   push

2) Signs requiring some explanation:
   - a) Basic signs requiring some explanation but whose forms exhibit a reasonable resemblance to their referents.

     teach
     learn
     training
     hot
     cold
     water

   - b) Signs consisting of combinations of other signs; some are rather conceptual.

     student = study + person
     agree = think + same
     disagree = think + opposite

wife = female + marriage
gentleman = male + fine
sister = female + same

3) Arbitrary signs: those whose forms do not have any evident relationship to their referents.

careless
skillful
color
queer

The layman's initial impression might be that most signs are mime-like and not arbitrary, but in reality, most of them "are not so iconic that a nonsigner could immediately guess their meaning. Historically, signs have become less pantomimic over time, becoming more systematically related to each other and assuming more arbitrary shapes and positions" (de Villiers & de Villiers 1978:238).

Deaf people depend predominantly on vision. Therefore, the visualization of SIGN is a crucial aspect. SIGN might be described as a language with built-in facial and body expressions in pictorial images. In fact, SIGN may be characterized as having three aspects, all vital to effective communication: (1) the signs themselves, (2) facial and body expressions, and (3) imagination – the visualization or pictorialization of situations. Therefore, an idea may not be properly conveyed merely by signing the proper sign:

> Head movement and facial expression can completely change the meaning of a sign. For instance, when the sign for "like" is accompanied by a pleasant expression it is clearly indicative of enjoyment, while exactly the same sign accompanied by a negative shaking of the head will portray dislike. Deaf persons do not focus so much on reading each other's hands as they do on reading the face and the overall body language. (Riekehof 1978:9)

A Suggested Application of SIGN

How can SIGN be applied to the teaching of English? I would like to propose one application, which would be to teach one of the SIGN systems using English as the medium of instruction. It is most important that English be spoken during instruction. It is also important that the students' native language not be used; otherwise the value of English as the instructional medium would be lost. Probably in the beginning, a modified direct method would be used: lots of pictures, miming and actions would be required in order to convey the sign's meaning. The difference here is that the teacher should keep the running English commentary while teaching the signs. The result is that the students would in fact be acquiring English as they concentrated on the signs they were supposed to be learning (cf. Krashen & Terrell 1983:55, on the topic of "comprehensible input"). For example, here is the procedure for signing *satisfy*:

> Both open hands, palms down, are placed against the chest, right above the left, and pushed down. (Riekehof 1978:75)

The teacher would perform the action while giving the instructions in English. Then the teacher would require the students to perform along with him/her, in the classical TPR manner. After that, the student might be asked to perform without the teacher, merely following the instructions. This proposal is twofold: it may be seen, on the one hand, as an ESOL activity on the order of using English as the medium to teach another subject and it could be viewed, on the other hand, as a specialized form of TPR. It would provide both "teacher talk" and visual aid for comprehensible input, and at the same time physical activity for meaningful experience.

The choice of which SIGN system to teach should remain with the teacher: Deaf people seem to feel more comfortable with the high-speed, more abstract and less redundant Ameslan system, but other people, especially hearing signers, may feel more at ease with the more detailed Siglish, which is a visual representation of English. Regardless of which system is taught, however, the teacher will not be able to completely ignore fingerspelling. In SIGN classes for hearing persons learning to communicate with the deaf, vocalization is not used for spelling out the word along with the spelling hand-signs, but it is used for pronouncing the word syllable by syllable in time with the hand. It seems wise to follow this precedent in the ESOL SIGN class, too, in order to present both eye and ear with more real language stimuli. For example, *book* should not be vocalized as /bi:-ou-ou-kei/ but as /buk/.

Possible Problems in Implementing the Use of SIGN

A. Teaching Training

The most predictable problem would be teacher training. Because the technique is still largely untried, the teachers' burden would be heavier than before. This means that teachers wishing to try SIGN as a TESOL technique would have to exert considerable effort; it is obviously not a technique that every teacher would wish to adopt. On the other hand, many other techniques now commonly in use required a significant amount of teacher training and exertion for the sake of enhanced professionalism. To begin with, the teachers themselves would have to know how to sign to a reasonable extent. Sincere there are not many people who know SIGN outside of the United States,[1] intensive workshops would be needed. According to Riekehof:

> . . .One should usually count on a period of 1 or 2 years before attaining an adequate level of competency. To become a proficient interpreter for the deaf, an additional learning period of 1 or 2 years is required. (Riekehof 1978:8)

One or two years, as Riekehof suggested, might be necessary for a person to communicate with deaf people. However, teachers who want to use SIGN as a device for helping their students learn English more effectively would not necessarily have to be that skilled. Furthermore, although it would be preferable for teachers to attain an adequate level of competency, necessary training in SIGN depends on the extent to which each individual teacher may want to apply it.

B. Selecting and Applying a Particular SIGN System

No matter how long or short the training, without understanding the underlying principles involved, SIGN will become just another chore. The teacher must understand the basic principles, be aware of the specific learning difficulties, and know how (in what way and for how long) to apply SIGN to solve the problems at hand.

As noted above, SIGN refers to Siglish or Ameslan. The two systems use basically the same signs, with the following exceptions: (1) there is some variation in the signs which refer to concepts, and (2) each system has signs which the other system lacks, the most notable example being the signed representations of morphemes such as *-ing* or *-ness*, used in Siglish but not in Ameslan. The main difference between the

---

[1] Even in the U.S., SIGN is basically used only for communication among the deaf or between deaf and hearing people who have been specifically trained in SIGN. However, to my surprise "it is estimated that ASL is used by more than 500,000 deaf and hearing people in the United States alone. This makes ASL the fourth most frequently used language in the country (after English, Spanish, and Italian)." (Terrace 1979:67)

two systems, however, is that each has its own syntactic frame.

Which system or what combination of systems to use in any given situation is left to the individual teacher's discretion. Teachers trying to make use of SIGN by basically focusing on concepts may choose the Ameslan system, since it is the more heavily concept-based. Of course, the immediate problem is that Ameslan has its own syntax, which is different from that of English, so its usefulness may be limited.

> ASL uses one sign concept to cover several English words. Example: Although the phrase "after a while" contains three words, it is made with one sign representing the concept "later." The sign for "past" can also mean "in the past," "once upon a time," or "a long time ago," depending on how large the sign is made. (Riekehof 1978:11)

On the other hand, if the teacher wants to focus on grammar, Siglish should be a natural choice, since it was invented to teach English syntax to deaf people.

> Siglish is the method being promoted by some educators, formalizing signs into a system that parallels the English language exactly through the use of markers (prefixes, suffixes, plural endings, tenses, and various word-form changes). Also included are signs to designate articles and infinitives. This use of English along with signs, markers, and fingerspelling is generally supported for classroom use in order to give students an exact representation of the English language. (Riekehof 1978:11)

Unfortunately, deaf people say it is legalistic, redundant, unncessary for comprehension, and boring to watch. Siglish tends to slow communication.

Bearing this in mind, different possibilities exist: One system can be used exclusively or features of each system can be used alternately, in a sequence, or in combination. Arbitrary signs can be avoided. Coherent planning is necessary, however.

Although fingerspelling is not often used in the Ameslan system, it should be very useful for ESOL purposes and could easily be taught under either system applied. Students may see it as fun and it might make them more intently aware of spelling. It should be kept in mind that, as previously noted, words pronounced in syllables as they are fingerspelled would provide more real language input than the mere vocalization of the spelling would.

Although it may be difficult to achieve, the use of SIGN as a language learning activity may be effective. At this point it is still only a suggestion and closer consideration is necessary before it could be used as an English teaching activity.

Summary and Suggestions for Future Research

This paper has presented a proposal to teach sign language in the medium of English as an ESOL activity. The rationales for this proposal are (1) that some (though not all) signs are highly graphic and may thus help to break the excessive dependence on translation into the native language, (2) that signs may help to form links between new English vocabulary and the student's previous experiences, and (3) that activating one's body may help the student internalize the linguistic code. The paper discussed an application of sign language and considered two possible problems in implementing the proposal: teacher training and the selection of a particular SIGN system.

Future research should center on gathering objective data regarding the efficacy of sign language teaching within language classrooms, to test the writer's subjective assessment of it as a workable language learning/teaching tool.

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REVIEW

TEACHING AND LEARNING LANGUAGES. Earl W. Stevick. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. pp. 215.

Although written as a practical guide for beginning teachers, Stevick's *Teaching and Learning Languages* is neither a 'how-to-do-it' cookbook nor an explication of the 'Stevick method.' Instead, the focus is on the understanding of the principles of language learning coupled with the description of a "large number of techniques drawn from a wide variety of methods – some old, some new, some widely used, some relatively unknown" (Preface, p. 2). Stevick's focus is on understanding and then adapting and using these techniques in the most effective way. In part, Stevick's ease in choosing techniques drawn from such a diverse variety of methods results from his own answer to the riddle he posed in *Memory, Meaning & Method* (1976:105): "Why does Method A (or B) sometimes work so beautifully and at other times so poorly?" The answer depends on understanding the valuable distinction (ultimately derived from Anthony (1963)) between principles, methods, and techniques. Essentially, *principles* are assumptions about the nature of basic language learning and teaching, while methods are matched sets of techniques, while *techniques* themselves are teaching procedures, i.e., the use of choral drills, the memorization of dialogues, and so on. The riddle is posed by the fact that a particular teacher gets better results using a specific method than another teacher using the same method. The key to the solution is found in the wide range of individual variation in the adaptation and implementation of the methods and techniques themselves: some variants are far more compatible with basic underlying principles than are other variants. From this it follows that *any method* should succeed *to the degree that its actual classroom use* is consistent with underlying principles of language learning and teaching.

Another part of the focus on understanding and adaptation results from the realization that, while the choice of materials, books, and even methods used is often far beyond the teacher's control, how these are adapted and used is not. Further, even under the most ideal conditions techniques and materials have to be adapted to the specific students and situation. Finally, part of the focus on understanding and thus making more effective use of some of these techniques is an acknowledgment that the greatest potential for influencing teaching lies in improving the techniques already being used rather than in proposing new ones.

A major theme implicit in the book is that in the acquisition of language linguistic images, patterns, and rules can be all mutually supporting. And, although a wide range of variation exists among individuals in where their strengths lie, each of these areas contributes at least in part to acquisition (cf. pp. 33-35). That patterns if not rules contribute to acquisition is something that is apparent on some level to most experienced language teachers, despite the current movement totally away from 'grammar.'

The overall orientation of the writing itself as well as the basic outline of the book reflect that fact that "it started out to be a book for teachers who are just beginning" (Preface, p. 1). With the beginning teacher in mind, the main points are underscored by the skillful use of subheadings, numbers, abundant italics, and frequent summarization. In addition, due to a healthy awareness that what is obvious to an experienced teacher is not necessarily obvious to a potential teacher, the text seldom leaves important underlying assumptions unstated. Nonetheless, the text although clear and well-written is not undemanding – parts of the text require the reader to both focus and think.

While the original intent was to produce an introductory book for beginning teachers, during the course of the writing the volume became, in addition, "a book for experienced teachers who are ready to take a fresh look at some of the things they've been doing all along" (Ibid.). In this sense, it is a layered book. The inexperienced teacher will be able to read and follow the main points without undue frustration; nonetheless, the more experienced teacher due to the additional background will have access to a much deeper level of understanding. This is particularly true with respect to the detailed discussions of the design, structure, and implementation of drills and activities, which will have much more meaning for the more experienced teacher.

The text itself is organized thematically into three parts, each dealing with a different aspect of teacher preparation. The first part, entitled 'Before you begin,' deals with things to consider before beginning to teach, with the nature of language learning and acquisition, and with what we know about memory which is relevant to teaching. The second part, entitled "some techniques and what's behind them," comprises the bulk of the text. The table of contents for this section reads as follows:

6	Building auditory images: pronunciation	50
7	Memorization: building usable composite images for meaningful material	67
8	Building grammatical patterns	82
9	Building patterns through drills	89
10	More about grammar	99
11	Audiovisual and other aids	106
12	Ways to oral activity: the teacher's questions	119
13	Ways to oral activity: games	128
15	Writing for your own students	146
16	Adapting printed texts	155

A superficial analysis would note that it is a rather ordinary list of topics with a strong emphasis on oral language; however, at least the first two hint that these ordinary topics will not be treated in the ordinary way. While the technique being treated is often a standard technique, Stevick has taken it and added bits and pieces to it drawn from his knowledge of language learning and of memory. The resulting hybrid is a technique which has been brought into line with underlying principles of language learning. In the section on pronunciation, for instance, occurs an almost parenthetical comment (p. 54): ". . .in dealing with individual repetitions, it's a good idea to concentrate the student's attention and your own on the sound rather than on interpersonal confrontation. . ." The value of this is obvious: since we value interpersonal interaction more highly than pronunciation, it is useful to avoid interpersonal confrontation when we wish the student to focus on pronunciation. Similarly, the section on 'Mimicry-Memorization' in which he is discussing the memorization of complete dialogues, Stevick lists as the very first part of the very first instruction (p. 70): "Let the students hear the whole conversation a time or two." The value of this is also obvious: once the student has heard the whole dialogue several times, subsequent repetition of the parts has a much higher likelihood of constituting comprehensible and meaningful input; hence, the value of the whole exercise has been increased. As a final example, in the section in which Stevick discusses building grammatical patterns, he suggests that advantages exist in drawing information out from members of the class, adding (p. 86): "You will make the most of these advantages *if you can avoid the body language and the tone of voice of a teacher working on grammar*, and play the part of a human being who is vigorously interested in what you and your interlocutors are saying" [italics mine]. The reasons for this are again obvious: given the holistic nature of memory, part of what is memorized is whether or not something is used for 'real' communication. Further, 'genuine' interest on the part of the teacher often evokes a corresponding interest on the part of the student.

None of this, of course, is completely new; good teachers have doubtless been doing much of it for centuries. What is new is treating them as a significant part of the description of teaching techniques instead of as a peripheral aspect of largely-irrelevant variation in teaching styles. In fact, it would not be surprising if some readers dismiss Stevick's additions as peripheral and then find what is left 'outworn or at least outmoded.'

The book finishes with a section that includes some phonetics, some phonology, the sound system of English, some comments on 'grammar,' and a very valuable list of recommendations for further reading.

A decade ago in a review that served to introduce Curran's then relatively-unknown Counseling-Learning to much of the teaching profession, Stevick (1973 [1976:87]) wrote while explaining why even the more 'conventional' language teachers should read Curran's *Counseling-Learning: A Whole-Person Model for Education*: ". . .the thinking and practice of Curran, like the thinking and practice of Gattegno and precious few others, draw our attention beneath the structure of what we do, and deepen our understanding of why we do it and how it works." He then added, ". . .even a language teacher who decides to reject their methods will be wiser and more effective for having experienced them." This, with but a change of names, would serve as a review not just of Stevick's book but of Stevick's work.

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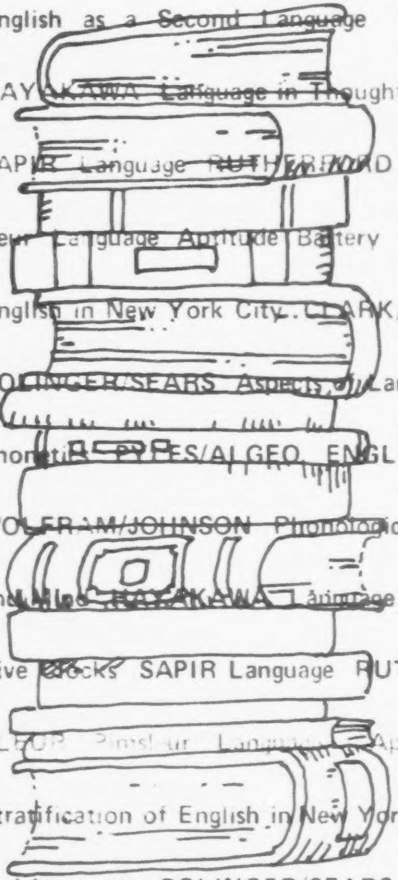

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IN THIS ISSUE.....

**Jack Richards and Nobuyuki Hino report on their survey of the need for needs assessment in the training of EFL teachers. They present the results of a detailed questionnaire distributed to JALT members at the International Conference, held two years ago in Osaka. The authors conclude that current ESL/EFL teacher-training programmes over-emphasise the development of knowledge and theory while tending to neglect classroom skills and other areas of competence.

**Richard Berwick suggests that some of the problems of assessing language learners' needs result from a lack of attention to definitions, valuation and interpretation. He urges us to view needs assessment as a form of applied research, part of which lies squarely in the subjectivist-interpretive tradition of western social science.

**Joan Morley, Betty Wallace Robinett, Larry Selinker and Devon Woods recount the early evolution of ESL approaches and methods in the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan, under the direction of Charles Fries. Many surprisingly "modern" aspects of applied linguistics and teaching methods were being elucidated and put into practice a generation ago by Fries and his colleagues.

**Howard Kleinmann identifies some of the learning difficulties experienced by Indochinese refugees in particular: it being well understood that readjustment to living in a new culture can have profound influences on the ability to acquire a new language. With reference to Krashen's Monitor Model the writer discusses these difficulties and proposes some solutions.

TRAINING ESOL TEACHERS:
THE NEED FOR NEEDS ASSESSMENT*

Jack C. Richards and Nobuyuki Hino
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> *We do not learn to know men through their coming to us. To find out what sort of persons they are, we must go to them.*
>
> Goethe.

English is the world's second language. The vast international industry which is necessary to sustain the current status of English includes millions of learners in classrooms around the world, teachers, textbook writers and publishers, as well as those who service different sections of the industry. Within the category of support services, institutions of higher learning and teacher-training colleges occupy a vital position. Through teacher-training programs of different sorts they are partly responsible for the impact teachers have in contributing to successful or unsuccessful language learning. Although the field of TESOL has expanded considerably to cater to the increasing demand for formal qualifications in TESL/TEFL as well as for practical training in language teaching, the nature of teacher training tends to be taken for granted by many of

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We are very grateful to Dr James Alatis and the Director of Georgetown University Press for permission to reprint this. "Training ESOL teachers: the need for needs Assessment" was first published in the proceedings of Georgetown University Round Table on Languages & Linguistics, 1983, edited by James Alatis, H. Stern and Peter Strevens: pp 312-26.

its practitioners. As Fanselow and Light observe:

> Many who prepare teachers have not studied the field of teacher preparation nor done any research in it; they have studied and do research in other fields. However, they still seem to feel competent to prepare teachers. (Fanselow and Light 1977:9)

There is consequently a relatively sparse literature on teacher-training in the major ESL/EFL journals. In the main part it consists of:

a) descriptions of actual training programs and the rationale behind them;
b) discussion of the value of particular training models (e.g., Competency Based Teacher Education);
c) philosophical discussion of the assumed significance of particular content areas (e.g., psycholinguistics; transformational grammar);
d) suggestions and descriptions of the skills, values and knowledge it is believed teachers need.

There is relatively little actual research or empirical data in the literature, nor have the issues of evaluation or accountability received much attention.

The present paper addresses the issues of needs assessment, evaluation and accountability in ESL/EFL teacher education. We describe a study of expatriate teachers of English in Japan. The study was partly motivated by the fact that this client group provides a significant portion of students entering the M.A. program in ESL at the University of Hawaii. At the time of the study, the curriculum for the M.A. program was being evaluated and revised and the data reported here was relevant to the evaluation process. The study also raises more general questions related to curriculum design for teacher education in TESL/TEFL.

A Study of Expatriate Teachers of English in Japan

Goals of the study

a) To obtain assessments of training needs from practicing English language teachers in Japan who do not have graduate training in TESL/TEFL.

b) To find out what sort of training EFL teachers in Japan with training, have received.

c) To determine how relevant such training is perceived to be in the light of the current professional responsibilities of EFL teachers in Japan.

Background information

English is taught in Japan via two main systems:

1. English is studied at junior and senior high school by most Japanese students for six years. Those entering university generally study English for a further two years. The majority of English teachers at this level are Japanese.
2. The private sector. English is taught in the private sector through numerous private language schools and programs, and some in-house company programs. The majority of the teachers in these programs are expatriates.

Expatriate teachers of English in Japan include:

a) trained EFL teachers who have chosen English teaching as a career;

b) native and non-native speakers of English who have obtained employment teaching English in Japan. Some of these are graduates in other fields who have chosen to work in Japan for various reasons. Some are temporary members of the profession. Some, however, have long-term commitments to the field of language teaching, and it is particularly from this group that many students for M.A. programs in ESL/EFL are drawn.

Obtaining Data on Expatriate English Teachers

Subjects

Subjects were members of The Japan Association of Language Teachers. This is a highly active language teaching association which was founded in 1977 to serve the needs of teachers of English in Japan, and was a response to the growing professionalization of English teaching in that country. The total membership in JALT is approximately 1600 members, of whom 55% are Japanese. JALT is an affiliate of the International TESOL Organization. Access was provided to the JALT membership list and a questionnaire was mailed to 200 non-Japanese members. An additional 50 copies of the questionnaire were distributed to participants at the JALT convention held in Osaka in October 1982. One hundred sixteen completed questionnaires were returned, a response rate of 58%. (See appendix)

The questionnaire

The questionnaire was in four parts. Part 1 concerned biographical data on institutional information; part 2 addressed job duties and classroom practices; part 3, which was for those without graduate training in ESL/EFL, sought information on areas the respondents would like to study within a graduate degree; part 4, which was completed by those with graduate training in ESL/EFL, asked respondents to evaluate the usefulness of areas they had studied.

Results

Part 1. Background information on the respondents

N = 116

Nationalities: American 95, British 8, Canadian 2, Other 11

Years teaching English: Mean $\bar{x}$ = 8 years

Years in Japan: $\bar{x}$ = 8 years

Type of institution taught in:	College/University	69
	Private language school	54
	Private tutoring	38
	Business firm	27
	Senior high school	12
	Junior high school	9
Type of student taught:	Beginning	76
	Intermediate	105
	Advanced	70

Part 2(a). Current professional duties

N = 116

This was directed at what the teachers do in the their current positions. Respondents indicated under three categories – always/often, sometimes, and rarely/never – how often they engaged in particular kinds of work. Means were calculated by scaling from 2 (always or often) to 0 (rarely or never).

Discussion

The teaching of speaking, listening comprehension and the preparation of classroom materials are shown to be very important activities for all respondents. This reflects the fact that the majority of non-Japanese English teachers in Japan are employed as conversation teachers. Literature is not a subject typically offered in private language schools or taught by non-Japanese teachers, nor is there a great demand for ESP courses in Japan according to these responses.

Table 1
Results by rank to the instruction:
Indicate what you do in your present job. N = 116

Rank		Mean	S.D.
1.	Teach speaking	1.86	0.38
2.	Teach listening	1.76	0.50
3.	Prepare materials	1.51	0.56
4.	Use A-V aids	1.30	0.69
5.	Design curriculum/syllabuses	1.20	0.74
6.	Prepare tests	1.09	0.75
7.	Teach writing	1.03	0.74
8.	Teach reading	0.95	0.73
9.	Interpret test scores	0.86	0.79
10.	Do administrative work	0.82	0.78
11.	Do research	0.70	0.73
12.	Teach ESP	0.58	0.74
13.	Train teachers	0.57	0.66
14.	Use language lab	0.55	0.78
15.	Write articles	0.43	0.62
16.	Teach about English-speaking cultures	0.43	0.62
17.	Write textbooks	0.41	0.65
18.	Teach literature	0.16	0.46

Part 2(b). Methods used

The respondents were asked to indicate which methods they most often used in the classroom.

Table 2
Responses to the question:
Indicate which method(s) you use. N = 116

		Mean	S.D.
1.	Combination	1.86	0.36
2.	Direct Method	1.22	0.70
3.	Notional/Functional	1.22	0.72
4.	Audio-Lingual	0.88	0.72
5.	Total Physical Response	0.82	0.74
6.	Community Language Learning	0.58	0.67
7.	Cognitive-Code	0.55	0.70
8.	Silent Way	0.32	0.59
9.	Suggestopedia	0.17	0.45

Discussion

This question was included to determine the methodological allegiances of foreign teachers of English in Japan. One of the functions of The Japan Association of Language Teachers is to upgrade the professional skills of its members, and at JALT conventions and meetings there is a considerable exposure to competing schools of methodology. Most teachers are free to choose their own texts and methods, and respondents indicate that eclecticism generally prevails. The relatively high use of direct method procedures reported probably refers to a vague awareness that the exclusive use of the target language in the classroom (a necessity for non-Japanese speaking teachers) was one of the tenets of the direct method , rather than a widespread use of strict direct method principles as such. The term 'notional-functional' was probably unwisely used here, since this refers not to a method but to a syllabus model. Many textbooks used in Japan cite notional functional principles of organization, hence responses to this item should probably be interpreted to mean "use of texts based on a notional-functional syllabus." Practitioners of other methods are less frequent. Although Total Physical Response appears to attract modest support, teachers using Total Physical Response in Japan, according to presentations made at JALT conventions, treat it as a technique, rather than a method, to be used occasionally when appropriate.

Part 3. Teachers without graduate training.

This section of the questionnaire was addressed to teachers without graduate level training in TEFL/TESL/applied linguistics, but included respondents who hold a TESL/TEFL certificate or its equivalent such as the Royal Society of Arts Certificate in TEFL. Respondents were asked to indicate what sort of content areas within an ESL/EFL teacher-training program they would be most interested in studying (Table 3), and which teaching methods they would like to learn more about (Table 4). Areas which would not be self-explanatory to an untrained teacher were briefly described (e.g., *sociolinguistics* – the relationship between language and society/culture; *discourse analysis* – the organization of oral and written language; *second language acquisition* – how people acquire a second or foreign language). From the total of 116 respondents in the sample, 75 were eligible to answer this section of the questionnaire.

Table 3

Results by rank to the question:

If you were to study in an M.A. program in TESL/TEFL which areas would you like to study? N = 75

		Mean	S.D.
1.	Teaching of listening	1.80	0.51
2.	Teaching of speaking	1.73	0.57
3.	Second language acquisition	1.62	0.56
4.	Materials writing/selection/adaptation	1.43	0.69
5.	Curriculum/Syllabus design	1.27	0.75
6.	Use of A-V aids	1.27	0.71
7.	Psycholinguistics	1.25	0.73
8.	Sociolinguistcs	1.24	0.74
9.	Teaching of writing	1.13	0.72
10.	Teaching of reading	1.11	0.76
11.	Classroom management techniques	1.11	0.75
12.	Error analysis	1.10	0.71
13.	Practice teaching	1.08	0.88
14.	Teacher training	1.01	0.81
15.	Language testing	0.98	0.76
16.	Discourse analysis	0.90	0.71
17.	English grammar and how to teach it	0.88	0.76
18.	Administration	0.84	0.80
19.	Phonology/Phonetics	0.84	0.71
20.	English for Specific Purposes	0.83	0.80
21.	First language acquisition	0.82	0.77
22.	Use of language lab	0.73	0.75
23.	Contrastive analysis	0.73	0.79
24.	Varieties of English	0.64	0.70
25.	Theoretical linguistics	0.61	0.72
26.	Bilingual education	0.57	0.65
27.	History of language teaching	0.44	0.64
28.	Statistics and research	0.42	0.65
29.	English literature	0.36	0.64

Table 4
Results by rank to the instruction:
Indicate which method(s) you would like to study. N = 75

		Mean	S.D.
1.	Notional/Functional	1.45	0.64
2.	Total Physical Response	1.26	0.76
3.	Cognitive-Code	1.25	0.73
4.	Community Language Learning	1.15	0.79
5.	Direct Method	1.06	0.84
6.	Suggestopedia	0.90	0.77
7.	Silent Way	0.85	0.76
8.	Audio-Lingual	0.77	0.79

Respondents to this section were all experienced classroom teachers, yet further training in the teaching of speaking, listening, materials writing and adaptation, curriculum and syllabus design, and the use of audio-visual aids, were all given high priority. Practice teaching, however, was not thought to be so important for these respondents since they already have considerable teaching experience. Some respondents added comments disavowing any interest in theoretical courses: "I would not be interested in any theoretical courses. I am only interested in things that could be used tomorrow." "I would have little interest in theory and research per se. I would want to concentrate on the practical application of theory and research." Other viewpoints were also expressed: "I would be more interested in learning fundamental information about English and about language teaching and learning, than in learning about particular applications of that information." "I would welcome a course which takes a broad theoretical approach."

Despite reservations from particular respondents, some courses with a theoretical orientation were ranked of relatively high priority (*second language acquisition, psycholinguistics*). Theoretical courses ranked of low priority included *phonology/phonetics, contrastive analysis, theoretical linguistics*. We cannot be sure, of course, precisely how much respondents understood of the content of such courses in assigning them ratings. Evaluations by graduates who have taken such courses enable a better appreciation of their relevance.

Part 4. Teachers with graduate training

This was addressed to teachers who have already studied in a graduate degree program in TESL/TEFL or applied linguistics. Forty-one respondents from our total sample of 116 were eligible to complete this section of the questionnaire. Thirty-four respondents held M.A. degrees from American universities, 1 from a British university, 1 Canadian, 2 held American Ph.D.s, and 2 respondents had completed course work but had not yet graduated, 1 did not indicate. The average number of years since graduation was 7 years. Table 5 indicates the percentage of the respondents who took course work in particular subjects or areas as part of their graduate training.

Respondents were asked to indicate (a) what subjects they studied and (b) how useful the areas studied were, in the light of their current responsibilities in the field.

Table 5
% of respondents who studied given subjects. N = 41

Rank	Subject/area	% who took course work in this area
1.	Phonology/Phonetics	97
2.	Transformational grammar	95
3.	Structural linguistics	92
4.	Second language acquisition	88
5.	First language acquisition	85
6.	Contrastive analysis	84
7.	Teaching of speaking	79
8.	Teaching of writing	79
9.	Teaching of listening	76
10.	Teaching of reading	76
11.	Sociolinguistics	75
12.	Method analysis	73
13.	Psycholinguistics	73
14.	Practice teaching	72
15.	Traditional grammar	70
16.	Error analysis	68
17.	Semantics	66
18.	Materials writing, selection, adaptation	63
19.	Language testing	63
20.	History of language teaching	58
21.	Curriculum/Syllabus design	58
22.	Use of audio-visual aids	57
23.	Pedagogical grammar	56
24.	Varieties of English	52
25.	Classroom management	47
26.	Discourse analysis	46
27.	Statistics and research	46
28.	Bilingual education	45
29.	Use of language lab	43
30.	English literature	42
31.	Teacher training	27
32.	English for Specific Purposes	24
33.	Administration	12

Table 6
Responses to: Indicate how useful the courses
you studied were in view of your present jobs. N = 41

Rank		Mean	S.D.
1.	Practice teaching	1.62	0.61
2.	Classroom management	1.42	0.59
3.	Second language acquisition	1.40	0.63
4.	Materials writing/selection/adaptation	1.38	0.62
5.	Method analysis	1.35	0.61
6.	Phonology/Phonetics	1.32	0.68
7.	Teaching of speaking	1.32	0.77
8.	Curriculum/Syllabus design	1.25	0.77
9.	Teaching of listening	1.23	0.76
10.	Pedagogical grammar	1.21	0.77
11.	Psycholinguistics	1.20	0.70
12.	Language testing	1.19	0.62
13.	Error analysis	1.14	0.69
14.	Teaching of reading	1.13	0.76
15.	Contrastive analysis	1.12	0.72
16.	Discourse analysis	1.10	0.71
17.	English for Specific Purposes	1.10	0.70
18.	Teacher training	1.10	0.70
19.	Use of A-V aids	1.04	0.62
20.	Sociolinguistics	1.03	0.70
21.	Teaching of writing	1.03	0.78
22.	First language acquisition	0.94	0.62
23.	Structural linguistics	0.91	0.75
24.	Varieties of English	0.90	0.68
25.	Traditional grammar	0.85	0.74
26.	Semantics	0.84	0.76
27.	Administration	0.80	0.40
28.	Transformational grammar	0.71	0.75
29.	History of language teaching	0.69	0.54
30.	Use of language lab	0.66	0.66
31.	Statistics and research	0.61	0.67
32.	English literature	0.47	0.60
33.	Bilingual education	0.38	0.67

Discussion

Table 5 is an interesting indication of how teacher trainers in the United States have viewed the needs of ESL/EFL teachers. The six most frequently studied subjects deal exclusively with language analysis and applied psycholinguistics (phonology, transformational grammar, structural linguistics, second language acquisition, contrastive analysis). Less than three-quarters of the sample had received practice-teaching experience, and even fewer had received training in the writing, selection and adaptation of materials, testing, curriculum or syllabus design. It is not surprising that a senior official of the Japanese ministry of education remarked to one of the authors recently, "Given a choice, we would prefer to have British rather than U.S.-trained English teachers in Japan. The average American teacher cannot handle the classroom situation." The American view of priorities is reflected in a comment by Diller in which he offers a justification for rejecting a competency-based teacher education model:

> The professional teacher of English as a Second Language needs pedagogical training to be a teacher, and academic training in English and linguistics to be a professional in our field. But of the two, there is a certain priority for English language and linguistics, for a decision on the nature of language and on the psycholinguistic mechanisms of language acquisition will determine to a large extent our decision on the principles and methods of teaching. (Diller 1977)

The fact that transformational grammar, phonology/phonetics and structural linguistics were studied by almost all respondents reflects the fact that most ESL programs in the United States are affiliated with and often directed by departments of linguistics. Many M.A. ESL curricula consequently tend to look like watered down linguistics' degrees.

In a survey of American and British teacher-training programs, Acheson (1977) noted:

> The lack of concern with such *educational* matters as competency and performance in the classroom is partly explicable by the fact that only about ten of America's 50 TESOL departments appeared to be affiliated to schools, departments, or colleges of education. The remaining 40 were attached to departments of linguistics, English, foreign languages, speech, or other administrative units in the academic institutions. Furthermore in many cases, it is surmised that the preparation of teacher educators in the TESOL teacher preparation programs has been exclusively in linguistics, rather than in education and/or the *teaching* of ESOL. (Acheson 1977:73)

Table 6 indicates how useful respondents found particular subjects or areas they studied, in view of their professional responsibilities in Japan. Since most expatriate EFL teachers in Japan are employed as conversation teachers, it is not surprising that courses relevant to this goal (phonology/phonetics, teaching of speaking, teaching of listening) were found to be more useful than courses related to other skills. Phonology was rated a very low priority by those without graduate training ($\bar{x} = 0.84$, Table 3), yet found to be quite useful for those who had studied it ($\bar{x} = 1.32$). Despite Diller's plea, structural linguistics and transformational grammar were not found to be useful, however. The teachers in this study, like most classroom teachers, judged the value of their training in terms of its practical application and effectiveness. The correlation between courses studied and their usefulness in the field was only .367 ($p < .05$, Spearman's rank coefficient). Clearly, many of the respondents felt they were shortchanged, but none more strongly than the bitter teacher who added:

> I deeply regret the time I wasted on transformational generative grammar and generative phonology. Discourse analysis is over-rated as to its usefulness. If I had to do it

over again, I would attend a British university for an M.A. I think the American TESL establishment has an inferiority complex vis-a-vis theoretical linguistics and generally fails to see TESL/TEFL as an applied craft. Or is it just a lot of empire building and greedy pushing and shoving?

Conclusions

According to B. Othanel Smith, in training teachers it is necessary to

a) analyze the job of teaching into the tasks that must be performed;
b) specify the abilities required for the performance of these tasks;
c) describe the skills or techniques through which the abilities are expressed;
d) work out training situations and exercises for the development of each skill (quoted in Fanselow and Light 1977: 5).

The procedure Smith advocates follow principles used in curriculum development in many areas of language teaching, namely, needs identification, skills identification, specification of objectives, and methodology. Judging from the data reported here, however, many ESL teacher-training practices have evolved from very different assumptions, with an emphasis on the development of knowledge, principles, and theoretical paradigms at the expense of training in skills and competencies. Despite the limitations of the present study (the sample size is small and detailed information is lacking in some areas), it suggests the need for more broadly based empirical studies of teacher behaviors and teacher needs, as a basis for the development and validation of more relevant models of ESL/EFL teacher training.

Reference

Acheson, Palmer. 1977. English for speakers of other languages: a survey of teacher preparation programs in American and British colleges and universities. In John F. Fanselow and Richard L. Light (eds.), *Bilingual, ESOL and Foreign Language Teacher Preparation: Models, Practices, Issues.* TESOL: Washington, D.C.

Appendix

The Questionnaire

This questionnaire is designed to obtain information about the needs of English language teachers in Japan, both those who have never studied in an M.A. (or Ph.D.) program in ESL/TEFL (Teaching English as a Second/Foreign Language) and those who have. The information obtained will be used to help ensure that TESL/TEFL programs meet the needs of English language teachers.

SECTION I

1. Your nationality ____________________
2. Degrees or certificates obtained, if any. (E.g. B.A. in history, TESL diploma) ______________________________________
3. Number of years of experience in teaching English (as a second/foreign language) ________
4. Number of years in Japan ________
5. If you are a teacher, please indicate your present teaching position. Check as many as applicable.
   - ( ) junior high school
   - ( ) senior high school
   - ( ) college/university
   - ( ) private language school
   - ( ) business firm
   - ( ) private tutoring
   - ( ) other ____________________ ____________________

   What level of students do you teach? Check as many as applicable.
   ( ) beginning ( ) intermediate ( ) advanced

SECTION II

(a) Indicate what you do in your present job(s). Please check ✓.

		always or often	sometimes	rarely or never
1	Teach listening			
2	Teach speaking			
3	Teach reading			
4	Teach writing			
5	Prepare materials for my own use			
6	Use language lab			
7	Use audio-visual aids other than language lab (e.g. tape recorder, OHP)			
8	Prepare tests			
9	Interpret test scores			
10	Teach English for Specific Purposes (e.g. English for science, English for business)			
11	Teach literature			
12	Teach courses about English-speaking cultures			
13	Write textbooks			
14	Design curriculum/ syllabus			
15	Do research on language learning/ teaching			
16	Write articles for publication			
17	Do administrative work			
18	Train teachers			
19	Other: ______ ______			

(b) Indicate which method(s) you use.

	always or often	sometimes	rarely or never
Direct Method			
Audio-Lingual Method			
Notional/Functional			
Cognitive-code			
Silent Way			
Community Language Learning			
Suggestopedia			
Total Physical Response			
Combination of different methods			
Other: ____________			
____________			
____________			
____________			

(c) Other relevant information, if any:

SECTION III

This section is for people who have never studied in an M.A. (or Ph.D.) program in TESL/TEFL or applied linguistics. If you have already studied in an M.A. (or Ph.D.) program in TESL/TEFL or applied linguistics, please skip this section and go to Section IV. If you have a TESL/TEFL certificate or its equivalent (e.g. RSA) but not an M.A., please answer this section rather than Section IV.

(a) If you were to study in an M.A. program in TESL/TEFL, which areas would you like to study? Indicate the priority of each item. Please check ✓.

		High Priority	Moderate	Low Priority	Not Sure
1	Teaching of listening				
2	Teaching of speaking				
3	Teaching of reading				
4	Teaching of writing				
5	Theoretical linguistics				
6	English grammar and how to teach it				
7	Phonology/Phonetics				
8	Materials writing selection/adaptation				
9	Use of language lab				
10	Use of audio-visual aids other than language lab (e.g. tape recorder, OHP)				
11	Language testing				
12	English for Specific Purposes (e.g. English for science, English for business)				
13	English literature				
14	Sociolinguistics (Relationship between language and culture/society)				
15	Discourse analysis (Organization of oral and written language)				
16	Psycholinguistics (Psychological aspects of language and language learning)				

		High Priority	Moderate	Low Priority	Not Sure
17	First language acquisition (How children acquire mother tongue)				
18	Second language acquisition (How people acquire second/foreign language)				
19	Error analysis (Cause and significance of errors)				
20	Contrastive analysis (Comparing and contrasting the grammar and phonology of English with those of another language)				
21	Varieties of English (Study of American English, British English, and other native and non-native varieties of English				
22	History of language teaching				
23	Classroom management techniques				
24	Practice teaching				
25	Bilingual education				
26	Curriculum/syllabus design				
27	Statistics and research design				
28	Administration of language teaching program				
29	Teacher training				
30	Other:				

(b) Indicate which method(s) you would like to study.

	High Priority	Moderate	Low Priority	Not Sure
Direct Method				
Audio-Lingual Method				
Notional/Functional				
Cognitive-code				
Silent Way				
Community Language Learning				
Suggestopedia				
Total Physical Response				
Other: ______				
______				
______				
______				

(c) Other relevant information, if any:

SECTION IV

This section is for people who have already studied in an M.A. (or Ph.D.) program in TESL/TEFL or applied linguistics. If you have never studied in an M.A. (or Ph.D.) program in TESL/TEFL or applied linguistics, please do not answer this section.

(a) When and where did you obtain your degrees in TESL/TEFL (or applied linguistics)?

(M.A.)
Year ______
University ______
(Ph.D.)
Year ______
University ______
(Currently enrolled)
University ______
(Left the program before getting the degree)
Year ______
University ______

(b) Indicate which of the following areas you studied in your courses and their usefulness in your present job(s). Please check ✓.

		Studied			Did not study
		Very useful	Fairly useful	Not very useful	
1	Teaching of listening				
2	Teaching of speaking				
3	Teaching of reading				
4	Teaching of writing				
5	Traditional grammar				
6	Structural linguistics				
7	Transformational grammar				
8	Semantics				
9	Pedagogical grammar				
10	Phonology/phonetics				
11	Materials writing/ selection/adaptation				
12	Use of language lab				
13	Use of audio-visual aids other than language lab (e.g. tape recorder, OHP)				
14	Language testing				
15	English for Specific/ Special Purposes				
16	English literature				
17	Sociolinguistics				
18	Discourse analysis				
19	Psycholinguistics				
20	First language acquisition				
21	Second language acquisition				

		Studied			Did not study
		Very useful	Fairly useful	Not very useful	
22	Error analysis				
23	Contrastive analysis				
24	Varieties of English (Study of American English, British English, and other native and non-native varieties of English				
25	History of language teaching				
26	Classroom management techniques				
27	Practice teaching				
28	Method analysis (Analysis of Audio-Lingual, Cognitive-code, Silent Way, etc.)				
29	Bilingual education				
30	Curriculum/syllabus design				
31	Statistics and research design				
32	Administration of language teaching program				
33	Teacher training				
34	Other: ______				
	______				
	______				
	______				

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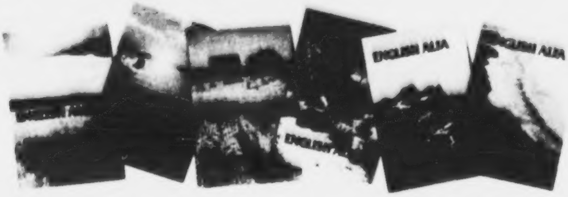

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THE NORMATIVE BASES OF NEEDS ASSESSMENT IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS: A CRITICAL RE-EXAMINATION

Richard Berwick

Abstract

Needs assessment is now considered an essential first step in designing valid instructional syllabuses for learners of additional languages, particularly for those learning a language for specific purposes. This paper explores the subjective and normative qualities of language needs assessment, and outlines some of the problems needs assessments in applied linguistics encounter through neglect of these qualities. The processes of needs assessment in education are contrasted with those in applied linguistics, especially with reference to defining terms, setting standards based on authoritative values, and interpreting data. Needs assessment in applied linguistics is viewed as a form of applied research with both descriptive and prescriptive functions. The paper concludes with a proposal to match needs assessment research methodologies with the functional tasks to be undertaken.

Richard Berwick is an English instructor at Kobe Steel, Ltd. He holds a Master's degree in English Education (ESL) from the University of British Columbia and is currently a doctoral candidate in Adult Education at UBC. He has published in *TESOL Quarterly*, *TESL Talk*, and *Language Training*.

Introduction

In this paper I examine several fundamental problems of language needs assessment which have received scant attention in the literature of applied linguistics. I am not so much concerned with the quality of arguments raised in support of needs assessment – I think the case has been made well enough, particularly with reference to syllabus design in the field of language for specific purposes – but rather the general lack of attention to the function and effect of *definition, valuation* and *interpretation* in language needs assessments.

Why these processes of applied research should be important to people who want to assess language needs is the central issue of my discussion. In general, the literature of second language needs assessment offers us technically interesting ways to examine and use data about prospective learners, contexts for use of language and the texts which prospective learners are likely to encounter. Unfortunately, we are often left without explicit guidance on how to ensure the validity of the needs assessment undertaking: How do we know that we are assessing what should be assessed; by what authority are some versions of need to be accepted and others rejected? These are among the "practical" questions to be explored during any needs assessment. They are practical in the sense that failure to project them into the needs assessment procedure leaves us with no way to make convincing claims about the validity of syllabus specifications, which is supposed to be the object of the exercise.

Perhaps the best place to begin the discussion is with two disclaimers: The first disclaimer relates to applied linguistics, the field of research and practice which I want to examine critically in light of its use of language needs assessment to assist the planning of language syllabuses. I am not going to argue that applied linguistics is somehow guilty of various crimes against a particular form of applied research. Like any other problem-solving discipline in the social sciences, including education, applied linguistics is renewed continually through communication of critical perspectives from its membership. Because I consider myself a practitioner in the field, and have a particular interest in making second language education more responsive to learners' needs, I am going to talk mainly about the uses and misuses of language needs assessment in applied linguistics and language teaching, recognizing that other fields – notably education – have also had to examine critically the ways in which needs assessment are conceived and carried out (see, for example, Griffith, 1978). I also want to explore how concepts and practices from other fields can be applied to the kinds of problems we hope to solve through use of language needs assessment.

Second, I have no preferred form of needs assessment to offer you and I do not know anyone who is likely to offer a breakthrough that will allow us to specify validly everything a prospective learner needs to know. With Munby (1978) it appeared that someone had at last made a serious and comprehensive effort to link models of language and social life to such pre-course planning decisions as who gets what varieties of the target language. As it turned out, the effort produced a cumbersome procedure which begged for simplification. Beyond simplification, however, the Munby-style language needs processor is very much a creature of the kind of technical valuing which insists that educational needs – language needs in our case – are "out there, waiting to be discovered" (Monette, 1977, p. 124); it is only a question of applying the right knowledge base and the right technology to the discovery process.

I want to be clear at this early point in my argument that nothing is likely to be discovered until we have defined its shape well enough to recognize it when we do see it; a concept of need must be supported by a concept of value that is communicable to ordinary people outside of the needs-assessing community; there is no data which self-evidently tells us what people need to know – somewhere along the line someone is going to be responsible for interpreting data, and the quality of this interpretation will characterize the description of need.

In brief, then, language needs assessment is very much in its infancy, as Schutz and Derwing (1981) have observed, and the infancy is likely to be extended unless we come to terms with the essential subjectivity and normative character of the undertaking.

Educational Approaches to Defining, Valuing and Interpreting in Needs Assessment

If we view second, additional or specific purpose language instruction as some of the applied functions of a parent discipline, we immediately run into a problem of classification: Are we talking about linguistics or education or, perhaps, both? My own preference is to classify broadly enough to avoid excluding bodies of research and practice which help us solve such functional problems as how to write a valid instructional syllabus. Some of the more thought-provoking articles published in applied linguistics have, in fact, attempted to look over the hill into the mainstream of educational (and other disciplinary) research (see, for example, Long, 1981 in classroom-based research methodology, Sampson, 1977 in instructional methodology, and Zamel, 1976 in composition research). Thus, I think it is time to consider how concepts of need and needs assessment have been discussed in such educational sub-disciplines as adult education and to bring the discussion home to needs assessment in applied linguistics.

The Problem of Definition

What is a need? What is an educational need? Are there any circumstances in which a communicative need is a type of educational need?

Need is conventionally defined in the literature of educational research as a gap or discrepancy between what is and what ought to be (English & Kaufman, 1975; Kaufman, 1972; Marrs & Helge, 1978; Sarthoy, 1977; Witkin, 1977). For the moment I will ignore such obvious problems as "ought to" or the notable lack of subjects and objects in the definition (*who* needs, and *who says* they need). But I do want to point out that even a formulation of need as gross as the conventional one is characteristically lacking when people sit down to think about assessing language needs. What I mean is that instead of approaching a working definition of need which identifies some of the more important variables, we generally seem to avoid definitions altogether and rely on analysis of speech situations and texts, or on achieving consensus for statements about possible prospective use of the language to be learned, in order to support selection of items for a syllabus. I want to exemplify some of the forms these approaches to needs assessment take and argue that they produce, at best, only part of the information required for adequate presentation of a language need.

The analysis of written and spoken tests as a kind of groundwork for possible application in classroom or other language learning settings can be found in such conceptually sophisticated work as Selinker, Todd-Trimble and Trimble (1978) on rhetorical function shifts in EST (English for Science-and-Technology) discourse, in Kaplan's seminal cross-cultural analysis of rhetorical style (Kaplan, 1972), and in the more recent work on possible applications of discourse analysis to teaching second languages (see, for example, Larsen-Freeman, 1980). Although these studies are respectable in their own right as contributions to knowledge in second language research, with very little difficulty it is possible to imagine second language learners "needing" to focus on authentic, specialist texts (in electrical engineering or physics, for example) which are supposed to illustrate how a particular discourse function in the specialist text operates. Perhaps the best-known example of this approach among English-for-specific-purposes instructional texts (and one of the most thoughtfully designed) is the *English in Focus* series (Oxford University Press) edited by J.P.B. Allen and H.G. Widdowson.

There is nothing wrong in principle with attempting to apply theory which is in the process of formulation to planning language programs or improving the quality of instructional materials. From the viewpoint of a definition of a need which entails description of "gaps", however, the analysis of written and spoken discourse per se describes no one's language needs and therefore offers no content for a needs-based instructional program. We have no more than a focused account of how language is used in a particular context – a kind of status report which tells us much more about what is than what ought to be. Even when we move directly into those forms of research which have been expressly designed to assess language needs, we are still faced with the problem of turning descriptions of use into prescriptions for learning a language. The now classical methods of language needs analysis – the language use survey (e.g., Mackay, 1976) and target situation analysis (e.g., Chambers, 1980; Jupp & Hodlin, 1978) – in themselves offer no guidance for the syllabus designer who has not been given explicit standard by which to interpret the data.

Beyond the misperception of descriptive accounts as exemplars of learning needs, however, is the fairly widespread use of *consensual statements* to indicate language needs. Oddly enough, both the absence and the presence of agreement among such constituencies as program administrators, teachers and students on desired uses of a language have been taken as evidence of language needs and thus as points of possible remediation. Mackay (1978), for example, describes parallel structured interviews administered to professors and students of English at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, but does not explain how the results of the interviews are to be interpreted as language needs. We are asked to focus on the discrepancies between the language needs perceived by the two groups – not on the discrepancies between current and desired states. Apparently, following this logic, a need comes into being as soon as a preference is expressed; an actionable need emerges when preferences *conflict*.

A rather different kind of logic is applied in Holmes' study of needs among Spanish-speaking, adult English-as-a-second language students in Los Angeles (Holmes, 1977). Here, needs "felt" by students and "ascribed" by adult school principals are given priority status because they have obtained a high degree of consensus during analysis of survey data (pp. 175, 177); the collection of statements upon which the two groups can agree is relatively small (in comparison with the simple rating within groups) and includes such disparate items as "Lack of medical care at reasonable prices" and "Lack of a language lab for individual practice" (p. 170). This approach to needs assessment obviously values consensus both within and between groups, but it doesn't seem to offer much more than a catalogue of wishes; it lacks any rationale for treating wishes as needs.

Jupp and Hodlin (1978) and Dooley and Nierobisch (1981) focus on immigrants' needs for English in the workplace. Both studies are concerned with methods of collecting data, analysing it for areas of consensus among people in the work setting who have a stake in prospective language training and relating it to design of the program. Jupp and Hodlin, in particular, outline a useful strategy for collecting information about functions of English in the workplace. This includes participant observation, materials analysis, interviews with learners and with others involved with learners or course aims (p. 37). Although we know what the sources of information are, we are never sure how, for example, "Difficulties with names and forms of address" (p. 27) came to be a language need. What operational definition guided the selection process? Clearly, somebody believes that learning names and forms of address is educationally worthwhile, but does an educational need necessarily come into being as soon as beliefs, even consensually held ones, are documented?

This brings me to the concept of *educational need* and its relationship to functional syllabuses. If we are in the business of organizing our own or other people's learning we are in the business of education. I realize that we derive much intellectual sustenance – models, hypotheses and ways of thinking about language – from the various branches of theoretical linguistics. But when we talk about "meeting" language needs or communicative needs, we are most likely discussing *educational* solutions, as opposed to offering, say, counselling or information services. This means, in effect, that concepts like *educational* are going to be impossible to avoid whenever we do language needs assessment if we happen to be concerned about the applied side of applied linguistics.

Malcolm Knowles, a major conceptual source in adult education during the past three decades, defines educational need as

> something a person ought to learn for his own good, for the good of an organization or for the good of society. It is the gap between his present level of competencies and a higher level required for effective performance as defined by himself, his organization or his society. (Knowles, 1970, p. 85)

What is most striking about Knowles' definition is its unabashed identification of what is to be learned with what is worthwhile learning. This notion of the worthwhile is at the heart of educational philosophy, although it has been conspicuously lacking in applied linguistics. We seem to prefer entirely technical solutions to the problem of determining communicative aims for learners. We avoid crediting ordinary biases with the power they do in fact possess to direct attention to certain language learning aims rather than others.

For example, a few years ago structuralist rationales and the kinds of syllabuses they produced seemed almost beyond reproach. It was clear to almost everybody that language structures were worthwhile learning. Now we are pretty well convinced that language functions are much more desirable to teach than language structures. Since we seem to be convinced that they are more desirable, we have inevitably tended to describe communicative needs as, for example, the need for 'x' function, or 'y' linguistic realization of 'x' function, and let the once-favored structures fend for themselves. In other words, our biases have changed (and are likely to change again) and have influenced the way we think about which language learning goals are worth pursuing. Now that we believe, in general, that learners need functions, nobody is going to be surprised to find that functions are what learners are going to get. As Monette (1979) notes, "It is ironic that while needs are used to define objectives, needs *per se* imply pre-formed objectives, that is, objectives are required to define needs" (p. 548).

A number of educational critics have argued that this tendency of educational needs assessment to serve as a fulfillment of the prophecy makes "needs-meeting" programs a logical anomaly, or, at best, offers those with responsibility for educational programs a handy way of selling them as new wine in old bottles to their various constituencies (see, for example, Komisar, 1961; Hirst & Peters, 1970). Their point is that it is strange to talk about finding a need when, after all, the "need" turns out to be no more than individual or group preferences for others to behave in certain ways. As I indicated earlier, however, the case for doing language needs assessment has developed much better than the means of doing it or the understanding of its limitations. If we accept the limitation that any needs assessment is going to be, fundamentally, a normative exercise that helps planners to specify what it is that is worthwhile learning, then I think we will have put ourselves on the right track. If we agree with Munby's (1978) contention that "the most crucial problem. . .facing foreign language syllabus designers. . .in the field of language for specific purposes, is how to specify validly the target communicative competence" (p. iv), then it becomes very helpful if *valid* is taken to entail the kind of competence that a legitimate source of authority believes is worth having.[1] And this brings me to my next point.

Authority and Values in Language Needs Assessment

Authority. So far I have been discussing communicative needs as forms of educational need ('A doesn't know X but ought to learn it, following some form of organized instruction'). But for present purposes I want to recast educational needs as "normative needs", needs which "exist" only in relation to a desirable standard or norm held by experts or some other source of legitimate authority (Bradshaw, 1974; Monette, 1977) – e.g., 'We (a source of recognized authority or expertise in a given social system) know that A doesn't know X but ought to learn it, following some form of organized instruction'. Now, as soon as we accept the premise that there is no *a priori* reason why one needs statement should be preferred to any other, we are left with the option of evaluating the credentials of those who make them. In order to do this we require a concept of authority and some notion of who count as proper sources of authority.

This may seem a fairly trivial problem, especially since professionals in applied linguistics are supposed to share, more or less, an understanding of the conceptual boundaries of the field. It is not at all clear to me, however, that we do share the same concept of authority or even that shared concepts retain their unifying force for very long. We used to believe, for example, that contrastive analysis would tell us what to teach (this is, ultimately, the authority of the structural linguist, or, more generally, the holder of specialist knowledge); we have also been told that the only proper basis for deciding the content of instruction is by consultation with the learner (the authority of the learner – a position elevated to extreme prominence in adult education programming). There is also the authority that comes with power – a kind of political/administrative authority which influences perception of language needs at the national or policy-making level. We know, for instance, that high school students in Japan apparently need English in order to take and pass tests, and that anyone seriously considering tampering with the useful power of the examination system to discriminate among students and to allocate them to various universities is going to be very frustrated.

The point I want to stress here is that authority takes on many forms and helps to define the characteristics of needs (see, for example, Harris, 1976; Peters, 1973). When we accede to the authority knowledge (epistemic authority) we are really saying that we have faith in theory and other knowledge systems to guide practice. Nothing wrong here, except that in language teaching, we have also, and for excellent reasons, vested authority in advocates of what are essentially moral positions or moral-political positions – we help people to learn languages in order to help them grow as human beings or to raise their consciousness – and in the pragmatists who tell us that the only thing that counts is survival of the local social system – a corporation, a community, and so on. Eventually the exercise of authority results in such prescriptions as: "He needs these language micro-functions and not those".

We can choose to credit the source of the prescription with legitimate authority if we have no other source of authority to guide us, or if we have learned to value it more than other possible sources, but again, there is no *a priori* reason to accept it.

Values. In the absence of coercion, we can expect (and, in fact, do find) considerable disagreement in our field over the authority to offer legitimate prescriptions, although we are just as susceptible to learned and other bandwagons as participants in any other field of study and practice. My point here, however, is that authoritative prescriptions are not so simply invented out of thin air; they stem from sets of values and attitudes towards things in the world. A failure to be explicit about the values we apply to needs assessment is at best misleading and at worst dishonest. Moreover, the definition of educational needs which I discussed earlier *requires* clear statements of essential, desirable standards for knowing and behaving – communicative use of language in our case – against which current knowledge or behavior can be compared. Although the implications of this for communicative language test development have only recently been explored (see Farhady, 1982), the implications for needs assessment are clear and have been discussed critically in the literature of educational research for years: Whether or not we agree with the influential biases which lead to the comparing and prescribing functions in needs assessment, we are entitled to have them specified.

Let me be a little more precise, at the risk of becoming unnecessarily technical. By "specified" I mean that, at some point, authoritative individual or group concepts of what is worthwhile must be translated into standards. These standards must be capable of influencing planning decisions and must be communicated to people who are responsible for making the decisions. Sooner or later the standards are going to influence some sort of constituency if we assume that they entail educational purposes. The constituencies may not, in fact, be interested in what leads to their being treated in particular ways, but *if they are*, they will have a means of examining critically the program which affects or interests them.

I want to emphasize that from an analytic point of view, it is no problem at all having different ways of valuing produce different conceptions of need for individuals or groups. I also recognize that different kinds of valuing – technical, aesthetic, political – produce different orientations to methodology and reality (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) among proponents of such forms of applied research as needs assessment. Occasionally, an orientation of this sort is embodied as a formal rationale which explains claims to authority and, in general, the author's stance towards reality and methodology. But concepts, orientations and rationales do not work for us in identifying needs unless they 1) help us locate the functioning sources of authority in a given social system and 2) outline a procedure for eliciting standards of language use from those who are entitled to offer them.

A helpful approach to needs assessment, then, is the clear representation of authoritative values in the form of standards at some point in the needs assessment process. If communicative language needs assessment is the issue, we will need somebody to place a value on certain uses of the language and then to tell us in a convenient way what these uses are. I happen to believe that teachers (or others who might legitimately claim to be experts in planning and carrying out instruction) are not necessarily the best source of functional standards for language use. In a business or industrial second language learning context, for example, it is much more likely that essential uses of a second language in and for the company – those which reflect the current values of the corporate system – will be better understood by, say, the managerial staff than by the teaching staff. Far from assuming equality among various possible sources during the standards-setting process, I would assume quite the opposite and suspend, at least temporarily, the egalitarian principle which seems to fascinate planners of adult language programs. When I say that standards ought to be specified for inclusion in a needs assessment, then, I mean that we require suggestions for language content from those who can lay a legitimate claim to knowing what content is important to the survival and maintenance of the system under study and what is not. I want to examine the implications of this position in a bit more detail in the next section.

Towards Interpretive Methodologies for Language Needs Assessment

So far the study of values in applied linguistics has been limited largely to the influence of affective, attitude and social variables on second language learning (e.g., Jonz, 1976; Lambert & Gardner, 1972). The instruments used in this kind of research are, typically, adaptations of such indirect value measurements as the Rokeach Value Survey (Rokeach, 1967, 1973). While such quantitative studies of values have been peripheral to the focus on influential variables in second language learning, they have been widely reported and cited, and represent a fairly standard variety of research in applied linguistics. On the other hand, direct, qualitative approaches to the setting of standards in language needs assessment have not been pursued even though the translation of values into standards for language use would seem to be well suited to hermeneutic (or, interpretive) forms of research – those which emphasize subjectivity and multiple, coexisting versions of reality (see Ochsner, 1979).

The fact is, we have no model for doing research into language needs which places axiology – the study of values – at the center of the activity. We have only the occasional hint of a methodology for doing this axiology-centered research in a way which suits the essential subjectivity of the concept of need and which could be used in conjunction with more traditional forms of needs assessment, including statistical sampling and analysis. In the area of standards-setting in language needs assessment, for instance, we can return to Holmes' study (Holmes, 1977) which used Delphi methodology[2] to obtain the consensus of "experts" on specific desired functional competencies in ESL. The study is virtually unique as an attempt to explore the qualitative dimension of standards-setting in second language needs assessment. Unfortunately, Holmes did not work within a definition of educational need, nor was the relationship of values to needs assessment a central part of the study. So, while the use of Delphi methodology seems a valid and reasonably economical way of studying values in language needs assessment, it cannot be considered a comprehensive needs assessment tool. More important than searching for a single way of doing all of the basic tasks in needs assessment is the recognition that the tasks are qualitatively distinct and require distinctive approaches.

What I want to propose, then, is that we apply Ochsner's advice regarding second language acquisition research to needs assessment as a form of applied research: "What we should have for SLA [Second Language Acquisition] research is the means to alternate between two kinds of equal research; one for objective, physical data and one for subjective unobservable facts" (Ochsner, 1979, p. 60). There is no reason why we have to go on viewing language needs assessment as a single form of research. In fact, given the way I have idealized it (using the metaphor of a gap or discrepancy), at least two kinds of research and associated methodologies have to be undertaken.

First, most needs assessments require that "objective data" – descriptions of how language is being used or is going to be used by various categories of current or prospective learners – be collected and placed at the disposal of syllabus planners. This kind of information can be used in fairly sophisticated ways, including hypothesis-testing, although the use I have in mind is primarily descriptive (as opposed to inferential): depiction of current conditions for target language use within a defined population or on behalf of individuals. This form of research seems especially applicable to "simple" facts and "simple" structures (Ebel, 1967; Ochsner, 1979) and could entail, for example, description of the ways in which a target language is currently used. I don't want to imply that this kind of research – more precisely, a phase of the needs assessment process – is somehow more trivial than the interpretive phase of needs assessment. To the contrary, without a clear idea of current statuses, we have no formal way to document needs or follow the reasoning which eventually results in educational prescriptions. What I very much want to avoid, however, is crediting objective studies with more power than they really have; by themselves they have *no* power to tell us what ought to be and certainly none to tell us what is needed.

Second, in order to learn what people think is educationally worthwhile, we need interpretive (often termed qualitative) studies – those which attempt to reconstruct for outsiders (readers, listeners) the meanings and understandings attached to events by those who experience them. Ochsner (1979) contrasts the character of the two research traditions, ". . . we can do experiments or write histories" (p. 63), and exemplifies the "writing of histories" in such forms as case studies, ethnographies and diaries. I would add to the list Delphi studies and simulations as additional sources of qualitative data, even though these techniques entail some manipulation of the "natural" social environment. I am not especially concerned about this experimental quality of Delphi studies and simulations since the ultimate goal of the analyses would be understanding of the local value system. Such typical goals of experimental research as causal explanation, prediction, generalization and control are not factors in the conduct of interpretive studies designed to help us understand and report the substance of local values.

Forms of Interpretation in Needs Assessment

This point brings me back to my contention that applied linguists generally ought not to be asked to decide which standards for language use are important in a particular setting. This is, in part, a question of content specialization which nonspecialists such as teachers are not likely to possess, or, more fundamentally, a question of valuation which cannot ordinarily be resolved adequately by people who do not possess the values or the right to purvey them. But applied linguists in the guise of applied researchers – or indeed other researchers with an understanding of qualitative research methodologies – may have the competence to conduct interpretive enquiries into the subjective world of the value holders even though they do not happen to share the values. Applied linguists have both the competence and, it seems to me, the responsibility to interpret, eventually, the information produced by comparing desired and current uses of the target language in order to produce an instructional syllabus which has a claim to being needs-based.

The term "interpretive", as I have used it so far, suggests both an identifying characteristic of needs assessment research and a responsibility of the people doing needs assessment. I want to spend a little more time examining this second sense of the term, since the interpretive functions of needs assessment are crucial and often unrecognized. Indeed, the more precision and complexity we add to the technology of language needs assessment the more likely we are to fool ourselves into believing that the responsibility to interpret has been reduced accordingly. Regardless of complexity, however, interpretive functions are inescapable at several key points in the needs assessment process: in deciding to collect information in particular ways, to analyse certain forms of available information in preference to other forms, to recognize as important or otherwise noteworthy certain pieces of information and not others, to make conclusions and offer prescriptions on behalf of learners or prospective learners, and so on.

It may seem ironic, then, that a tool for helping planners to be more precise about language needs is so steeped in the apparent imprecision of qualitative research and subjective judgement. But without the supplement of qualitative biases, needs assessment is simply not assessment.

Conclusion

I want to conclude by returning to my disclaimer and adding a cautionary note about the growing complexity of formal language needs assessment. Although I have not offered you a way to do needs assessment, I think I have outlined several critical operations in the assessment process which will help us arrive at "valid specifications of the target communicative competence". Among these operations are defining the concept of communicative language need in educational terms, that is, in terms which oppose what is worthwhile learning with what has already been learned. Language needs assessment must also entail the translation of authoritative educational values into standards of functional or communicative competence. In order to accomplish this translation, procedures for interpretive research should be applied to the needs assessment. Finally, the interpretive functions and responsibilities of people who undertake a formal language needs assessment ought to be clarified and recognized as desirable rather than as the undesirable effects of imprecision.

I don't want to leave the impression that needs assessment ought to be transformed into a kind of "interpretive technology", or that it become even more of a complex activity than it already is. Because needs assessment is fundamentally a form of applied research geared toward improving the quality of programming decisions (Pennington, 1981), it makes very little sense to undertake long and complicated studies which planners cannot use. So it is with some caution that I urge others to philosophize about the normative bases of needs assessment in applied linguistics. Instead, perhaps I should have talked more about doing *valid* needs assessment – validity being the conventional, tests-and-measurement term to indicate that somebody has thought about the meaning of their measurement work. Once we have thought about our work in this way, we have the further obligation to offer suggestions for obtaining useful and reliable results when we do communicative needs assessment.

This is just the problem I want to explore next.

Notes

[1] This is very much the way the theoretical sources of validity are discussed in the literature of testing and measurement. Face, content and construct validity are ultimately attributable to informed introspection, intuition, or experience. See Kerlinger, 1973; Popham, 1975.

[2] Weatherman and Swenson (1974) describe Delphi as "a group of related procedures for eliciting and refining the opinions of a group of people" (p. 97). Holmes (1977) notes that "the basic idea of the Delphi Technique is to obtain information from a panel which never meets as a group" (p. 65).

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ESL THEORY AND THE FRIES LEGACY

Joan Morley
Betty Wallace Robinett
Larry Selinker
Devon Woods

Abstract

With Director Charles C. Fries as its guiding force, in 1941 the English Language Institute was founded at the University of Michigan. The charge to the ELI was two-fold, to conduct research in teaching

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English as a foreign language and to prepare and test new materials for the teaching of English.[1]

Ultimately the influence of the research, the methodology, and the materials developed by Charles C. Fries and the staff of the English Language Institute was felt around the world. Fries was a key visionary in the development of theoretical perspectives on second language learning and teaching. His work was a critical milestone in the development of our field.

Charles C. Fries had a particularly strong impact on the teaching of English in Japan. In an article in ELEC Publications, March 1960, Tokyo, Fries noted, "The Japanese pupil must have. . .a set of English materials especially adapted to his linguistic needs, if we want him to learn English well." A full explanation of the basic materials developed for teaching English to Japanese speakers is found in *Foundations of English Teaching* (C.C. and A. Fries, 1961).

In the near half-century between 1941 and 1984, perspectives on language learning and teaching have changed in significant ways. Nonetheless, whether one chooses to accept or to reject specific elements of the "Fries Legacy", one can neither ignore nor deny the importance of the impact of Charles C. Fries on ESL[2] and on the applied linguistics research underlying it.

In this presentation it is our purpose to do two things: (1) to review the development of Fries' work and its place in the history of ESL theory and practice; (2) to explore concepts of ESL theory today, specifically, a discussion of *the principles* according to which pedagogical decisions are made and *the processes* involved in the creation of these principles.

The paper is divided into four parts. Part One outlines the historical perspectives involved in the development of the English Language Institute – international politics, linguistics, psychology. Part Two examines the theoretical foundations of the Oral Approach in two major dimensions – Fries' insights in framing clear statements of questions central to the second language learning/teaching process and Fries' unique attention to formulation of explicit statements of the principles which underlay the pedagogy of the Oral Approach. Part Three describes a regrettably *underpublicized* aspect of the *original* Oral Approach, specifically, the explicit functionally-oriented *language-as-communication environment* provided for students at the ELI beyond the classroom and the books. Finally, within the framework of ESL theory, Part Four examines the ways in which Fries attempted to bring about "harmony" among the various aspects of the learning/teaching process: the theoretical, the methodological, the interpersonal.

PART ONE. HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTITUTE

Domains of Influence

The Inner Circle of Influence

In June 1941, the University of Michigan formed an English Language Institute and inaugurated an intensive course in English as a Foreign Language, the first ever offered on a university campus in North America. Most of the "students" enrolled in the first intensive course were professionals – in medicine, law, engineering, finance, and psychology – who wished to do advanced study in their fields. They were all from South and Central America – Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Peru, and Venezuela.

The experimental intensive course was a resounding success and the English Language Institute was established as a permanent part of the university. By 1943, the ELI offered continuous eight-week intensive English courses throughout the entire calendar year. The first courses offered four hours of classroom instruction per day, with one hour of laboratory study soon added. From modest numbers of students during the first few years, enrollments rose steadily. During the 43 years since the ELI was founded, students from nearly a hundred countries have studied English on the Ann Arbor campus.

Also in the summer of 1941, the U.S. State Department provided a grant to the ELI for the development of an intensive Teacher Education Program. Since 1941, over 4,000 teachers of English from the United States and from countries around the world have participated in this teacher training certificate program.

In addition to the intensive course instruction and the teacher training programs, the ELI has had a continuing component of instructional research and materials development, both in language teaching and in language testing. Thirty-nine books on English teaching and testing have been published along with 17 sets of audio sound recordings and four video recordings. Since 1961, ELI has administered a world-wide testing and certification service which has processed as many as 12,000 tests in a single year. Forty-two individual tests, many with multiple forms, have been constructed and marketed.

Over the 43 years from 1941 to 1984 more than 1,000 people have been a part of the ELI staff and have contributed to the following work: (1) teaching intensive English courses, (2) conducting research in language learning and teaching, (3) developing instructional materials, (4) training ESL teachers, (5) teaching linguistics and applied linguistic courses, (6) conducting research in language testing, (7) constructing and validating tests, and (8) editing professional journals. Today University of Michigan ELI staff "alumni" are located throughout the world, many in important and influential positions.

These on-campus activities alone represent a significant contribution to the field of English language learning and teaching. This domain of direct on-campus activity, however, is only an inner circle of even larger spheres of influence.

The Outer Circle of Influence

A second domain is an outer circle of influence which ultimately touched the lives of far more ESL students and teachers than those involved in learning and teaching in Ann Arbor. This outer circle was made up of a network of English language programs developed in dozens of countries around the world, with ELI staff members working in cooperation with local language teaching personnel. The first program outside Ann Arbor was established in 1943 in Mexico City. With Albert Marckwardt as director, the United States government provided Department of State funds to establish this first American language institute ever sponsored abroad.

In the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's, the ELI was deeply involved in English language instruction on five continents. In total, during the years from 1941 to 1984, the ELI has conducted special programs in language teaching and/or teacher training in Ann Arobr and in over 30 host countries around the world.

This extensive diffusion of Fries' insights into many parts of the world was not without its problems. It was unavoidable in such a widespread process of dissemination that distortions of original intent occurred. The explicit principles of the Oral Approach of Charles C. Fries, as he wrote them in his classic 1945 text *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language*, sometimes became blurred and misinterpreted. Some aspects were blended and incorporated – out of context and in an unprincipled fashion – into subsequent versions of audio-lingual, oral-direct, mim-mem, and other varieties of orally-oriented methods and techniques.

In actuality, the "real" Fries program never left the University of Michigan campus, as neither the aura of the charismic personality of Fries himself nor the milieu of the Ann Arbor environment was "exportable". Although some of the essential aspects of the program were exported through books and training programs, staff members who worked in the original programs indicate that some aspects were not exported and, indeed, probably were not exportable.

The Powerful Influence of the Underlying Theory and Pedagogy

A domain of influence more significant than either the inner circle or the outer circle lies in Fries' keen perception – in the late 1930's and early 1940's – of critical issues involved in language learning and language teaching, especially: (1) his precise focus in asking *the right questions*; (2) his formulation of *explicit answers* in constructing both his *theory* of teaching English as a foreign language and his linguistically-oriented *pedagogy*. (See Part Two)

Historical Perspectives: International Politics, Linguistics, Psychology

Many facets of the climate of the times 43 years ago exerted strong influence on Fries and the development of the English Language Institute. Important among these were the prevailing intrigues of international politics, the prevailing attitudes in linguistics, and the prevailing concepts in the psychology of learning.

Political Perspectives

It was not by chance that the first intensive course was offered to students from Central and South America nor was it by chance that the original textbook series was developed as an intensive course in English for Latin American students. The ELI intensive English course was part of a much larger plan, one which was based *not* upon an altruistic nor even a scholarly motivation, but one which was based upon political need. The first ELI intensive course and the textbook materials were developed in direct response to United States governmental concerns for strengthening international relations with Latin America. These concerns were related directly to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor Policy", a Pan-American corporation aimed at countering threats of European totalitarian influences which were moving into Latin America. The urgent need which resulted in the establishment of the University of Michigan ELI was the demand for English instruction in Latin American countries as a part of cultural exchange programs just before and during the time of the United States' involvement in World War II. In Albert Marckwardt's words:

> This was a time when war clouds were gathering and our own entanglement in the struggle was not far off. The United States was becoming concerned over the cultural penetration by totalitarian powers into various Latin American countries. The teaching of Italian and German was an important element in this cultural effort. As a country, our response to this was the development of

> English teaching in these same countries. We had to begin this by preparing materials for teaching. (Norris, 1968:2)

Linguistic Perspectives

It also was not by chance that Charles C. Fries was selected by the U.S. Department of State to develop this crucial intensive program in English as a foreign language. Marckwardt called it "inevitable" that Fries, whose reputation as a linguist and scholar was already well established, should be chosen to concentrate his expertise and his energy on meeting the government's demand for English instruction.

By 1939, the concern of the U.S. Department of State for the teaching of English in Puerto Rico and Latin America had reached crisis proportions. The result was a crucial invitational conference held on the Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan in the fall of 1939. Harold Allen reported:

> The purpose of the conference was to decide upon the ideological basis for such teaching – as it turned out, to decide between the Basic English with pictures proposed by I.A. Richards and a linguistically-based approach advocated by Fries. The upshot of the conference was a grant to Fries to develop teaching materials for the intensive course in English that was experimentally offered in the trial summer program for Latin American students at Michigan in the summer of 1941. It was so successful an experiment that it led to the formal establishment of Michigan's famous English Language Institute with State Department support and helping funds from the Rockefeller Foundation. (Allen, 1978:2)

With this mandate from the State Department, Fries and his chosen staff began preparing instructional materials for the experimental program of 1941 and the succeeding courses. A number of key people were involved during the early years, but from personal accounts and from a study of historical documents, it became clear that much of the credit for the initial and continuing success of English Language Institute activities must be attributed to the intellect, the strength, and the charisma of one person – Charles C. Fries.

In a dedication a few years later, Marckwardt made the following tribute:

> It has always seemed to me that Charles Fries stood head and shoulders above his colleagues simply because in the course of a fruitful academic life he had three or four first-rate ideas, which is three or four more than fall to the lot of us. What is more, he had the vitality and persistence to see to it that these ideas have had a powerful impact upon the profession. This, in the barest outline, is the key to the extraordinary academic career of the man we seek to honor. (Marckwardt, 1965:3)

In the 1920's, when Fries began his career, there was a heated battle between the prescriptive dicta of traditional grammarians and a *then* "new breed" of structural linguists dedicated to descriptive analysis. Although Fries had allies in his efforts to demonstrate the unrealistic basis of the traditional perspective, it was his voice which was both persistent and persuasive as a proponent of structural linguistics.

When Fries turned his attention then to the development of English texts for non-native speakers, he characterized this work in the following way in the preface of *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language*:

> . . .an attempt to interpret, in a practical way for teaching, the principles of modern linguistic science and to use the results of scientific linguistic research. (Fries, 1945:Preface)

He deplored the fact that:

> . . .naive and conventional views of language have been so much in control that it has taken a world war, with its practical contacts with a dozen languages little heard before, to provide an opportunity even to *try* materials and methods based upon scientific knowledge and research. (Fries,

> 1945:Preface, italics in the original)

(See Part Two for a discussion of Fries' explicit application of linguistic principles to materials development and teaching methodology.)

Psychological Perspectives

Fries defined language as "a set of habits for oral production and reception", thus embodying not only linguistic concepts but psychological concepts as well[3] (Fries, 1945:6). Learning a language was believed to involve making the basic patterns of arrangement of the language – the grammatical forms – matters of automatic habit (Fries, 1945:3). In an earlier publication, Fries related the notion of automatic habit to "speaking without thinking of the forms of language":

> . . . If he (a speaker) is to speak effectively he must give his entire attention to grasping clearly his *ideas* and to the choice and organization of the materials underlying these ideas in order to meet the needs of his hearers. Language *forms*, the grammatical apparatus of his expression, must come automatically. (Fries, 1927:124; italics not in the original)

As a crucial component of his position, Fries argued strongly that a language was not "learned" unless the automatic habits built up were *oral-aural at the outset*. Fries underscored the word "approach" – not method – in the following definition:

> 'Oral Approach' is a name primarily for the *end* to be attained in the first stage of language learning. . . That end is the building up of a set of habits for the oral production of a language and for the receptive understanding of the language when it is spoken. (Fries, 1945:8; italics in the original)

This perspective on learning, as outlined by Fries, played a pervasive role in the subsequent materials and procedures development at the ELI. Note these comments from the preface to *Pattern Practice*:

> This newest revision of our "Pattern Practice Materials" as we often call them, completes the series of thirty-four units from our *Intensive Course in English*. We offer them with confidence in their extraordinary effectiveness. They represent a new theory for language learning, the idea that *to learn a new language one must establish orally the patterns of the language as subconscious habits*. These oral practices are directed specifically to that end.
>
> In *Pattern Practice* as developed at the English Language Institute and as embodied in these lessons, the student is led to practice a pattern, changing some element of that patterns each time, so that normally he never repeats the same sentence twice. Furthermore, his attention is drawn to the changes, which are stimulated by pictures, oral substitutions, etc., and thus, the *pattern itself, the significant framework of the sentence, rather than the particular sentence*, is driven intensely into his habit reflexes. (Lado/Fries, 1953: xv)

Final Comments

Thus, political, linguistic, and psychological perspectives each played an important role in the development of the Fries Oral Approach to language learning and language teaching. Fries gathered a staff and provided leadership and the intellectual spark in shaping theory and practices which moved out from Michigan to make a world-wide impact. We feel that a study of Fries is an important prerequisite to understanding many of the current issues in the field of ESL and applied linguistics.

The theoretical perspectives presented by Fries in *Teaching* *and Learning English as a Foreign Language* are discussed in closer detail in the next part of this paper.

PART TWO. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS TO THE ORAL APPROACH

In terms of our view of ESL Theory, we consider Fries to be one of the most important figures of the century. It sometimes seems that everything that has come after Fries and much of what we do today is, in some important way, either following Fries or reacting to him, i.e., synthesis/antithesis.

In this section of the paper we describe two major dimensions of the Fries legacy to ESL Theory:[4]

1) Fries' insights in formulating clear questions central to the second language learning/teaching process – the same questions which continue today to be key issues in scholarly research and debate.
2) Fries' unique attention to the formulation of *explicit* statements of principles which underlie the pedagogy of the Oral Approach and support its pedagogical decisions – within the framework of the questions posed.

Major Criticisms

After 40 years it is easy to criticize this work in theoretical foundations of ESL. Therefore we discuss several areas of criticism at the outset.

One set of criticisms concerns the lack of empirical foundations for theoretical claims. First, the tenor of the times did not require empirical investigations of the type which we have become accustomed to in recent work in applied linguistics. Given the psychological foundations referred to in Part One of this paper, it was felt that the major principles of learning were well understood:

> The command of a language is a matter of practice. . . *Language learning is over-learning; anything less is of no use.* (Bloomfield, 1942:12; italics in the original)

Second, most of the tools we have become accustomed to – tools developed for research in such fields as second language acquisition, classroom learning/teaching, reading, ethnography, ethnomethodology – have become available to us only relatively recently. Thus, criticizing Fries, even implicitly, for not using these tools is inappropriate.

An additional set of criticisms concerns the general form of Fries' argumentation:

Truism + Conclusion = Fact

A detailed example of Fries' argumentation is in order here. In the following quotation, Fries presents a series of statements about children learning a first language.

> Very early as small children we master the sound system of our language. We learn to hear the significant sounds in sequences that become familiar, and then to produce these significant sounds and sound sequence with amazing accuracy. . . This mastery of the sound system of our native language has (for all of us without noticeable speech defects) become entirely unconscious and, like the ability to walk, we cannot remember the learning process. The same thing is true concerning our mastery of the use of the devices which our language uses structurally – the fundamental matters of word-order and the patterns of form. These we learn to use automatically and they are not items of conscious choice. The ordinary adult speaker of English finds it extremely difficult to describe what he does in these matters, so thoroughly have they become unconscious habits in early childhood. But in matters of vocabulary the situation is entirely different. The "words" one knows depend upon the experience one has had. A child's experience is much limited in its range. His vocabulary is therefore greatly limited. But he continually grows in experience

> and also in the vocabulary that necessarily accompanies new experiences. . .

Based on these observations, Fries then presents some conclusions about adults learning a second language – stated in the form of "facts":

> In learning a new language, then, the chief problem is not at first that of learning vocabulary items. It is, first, the mastery of the sound system – to understand the stream of speech, to hear the distinctive sound features and to approximate their production. It is, second, the mastery of the features of arrangement that constitute the structure of the language. These are the matters that the native speaker as a child has early acquired as unconscious habits; they must become automatic habits of the adult learner of a new language. (Fries, 1945:2 & 3)

What appears to happen next in terms of argumentation is that there is a jump to what must occur in language teaching. In terms of teaching, for Fries, it follows that the explicit aim is to develop materials which would lead the adult learner toward making the sound system and the structural system automatic habits, using only enough vocabulary to make the systems work. Arguing for what *must* occur in language teaching based on analogies to what *appears* to happen in child language acquisition has been criticized in the literature (see, for example, Saporta, 1965, 1966). We feel that Fries' argumentation is vulnerable here.

Another set of criticisms concerns Fries' view of the relation of theory to practical problem-solving. In his book (1945, passim), Fries talks about applying theory to the solution of practical problems. This approach seems to us to be a fundamental error in the field. Fries was not alone in this fundamental error, of course, but with Fries (1945, passim) it took the form of a crucial assumption which went something like:

> One can build a technology of language teaching on a theory of language and on a theory of learning.

An alternative and potentially more fruitful approach to *validation* in the field is to clearly differentiate between "criteria for success" in a theory versus "criteria for success" in a practical problem; see Goguen (1979, passim) and Wiener (1979:2) for the source of this distinction.

The Contrastive Notion and Materials Development

One of Fries' long-term major contributions to ESL thought, in our view, was his explicitness to detail regarding the principles underlying his approach to language teaching. The Fries (1945) work has as its explicit aim:

> To interpret in a practical way for teaching, the principles of modern linguistic science and to use the results of scientific linguistic research. (Preface)

Teachers of ESL, it was claimed, "in order to be effective", should "know English, its sound system, its structural system, and its vocabulary – from the point of view of a descriptive analysis in accord with modern linguistic science" (Fries, 1945:Preface). Fries then framed an important truism, one which was to have substantive import in the development of the field:

> Foreign language teaching is always a matter of teaching a specific "foreign" language to students who have specific "native" language background. (Fries, 1945:Preface)

He commented further:

> The most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner. (Fries, 1945:9)

This notion, quoted widely and used to justify literally hundreds of master's theses in the 1950's and 1960's was the direct antecedent of contrastive analysis. In the subsequent work of Lado (1957), the comparison of the learner's native language to the language to be learned was explicitly hypothesized as a predictor of learners' errors.[5] (cf. Lado, 1957: 2)

Out of the subsequent attempts to validate Lado's hypothesis arose "error analysis", one of the immediate percursors to the field of "second language acquisition".[6] We can easily believe that, without Fries' insights, the field of second language acquisition would not have developed, at least in its current very rich and active form.

Thus it appears that from the idea that the best materials arise out of a comparison between the native and the target language, we get the notion that such a comparison is able to predict the errors which learners will make and the problems which they will encounter. Finally, we find the conclusion that before one can prepare the best teaching materials one has to discover the learning difficulties through such a comparison.

> The most important new thing in the preparation of teaching materials is the comparison of native and foreign language and culture in order to find hurdles that really have to be surmounted in the teaching. It will soon be considered quite out of date to begin writing a textbook without having previously compared the two systems involved.
> Other advances in techniques of presentation of language and culture should not be neglected, but the linguistic comparison is basic and really inescapable if we wish to make progress and not merely reshuffle the same old materials. (Lado, 1957:2)

The Oral Approach

Fries was disturbed by the ESL teaching profession which he characterized as a field ripe with a "babel of conflicting assertions". He felt it was critical to raise serious, indeed profound, questions:

"Just what does *learning* a language mean?"

> "When can one be said to have *mastered* a foreign language?" (Fries, 1945:1; italics in the original)

In addressing these questions, Fries first presents answers which were popular in his day; one such answer is that "learning a language" is taken to mean "learning vocabulary". He easily demolishes this answer by referring to his research base in structural linguistics. Using this base, he then provides an operational definition of 'learning'.

> A person has "learned" a foreign language when he has. . . first, *within a limited vocabulary*, mastered the sound system. . .and has, second, made the structural devices. . . matters of automatic habit. (Fries, 1945:3; italics in the original)

This definition of learning, Fries is careful to point out, is relevant only to the *first stage* of language learning. He specifies that "The practice which the student contributes must be *oral practice*" (1945:6; italics in the original). The claim is made by Fries that this must be the case, even if the final goal is to read. Without this oral practice, it is claimed that the reader cannot "enter into the precise particular way the foreign language grasps experience" (1945:6). In a later publication, Fries (1960:1-4) summarizes the two basic features of the Oral Approach as follows:

> Two important features characterize the heart and substance of the "Oral Approach" as the name is used here. These two features make our "Oral Approach" much more than any of the older "methods" and make it, indeed, *A New Approach* to language teaching and language learning.
>
> These two features are:
>
> 1) *A much more clearly defined goal for the first stage of language learning.*
> 2) A much more complete understanding of *what is essential in the materials* to be studied in order to attain that goal. (Fries, 1960: 1; italics in the original)

With regard to the first feature, Fries state:

> The goal for the first stage is such complete and thorough learning of the basic materials that they can be *produced orally by the pupils*. The word *oral* in the name Oral Approach is used to describe what the pupil must be able to do with each lesson that he learns. (1960:2; italics in the original)

With regard to the second feature, Fries states:

> But to be successful the Oral Approach must have the *proper materials for the pupils to practice and learn*. . . Fortunately, the modern scientific study of language has within recent years provided a breakthrough in descriptive structural analysis which we have learned to apply with great success to the problems of building effective materials to be learned. (1960:2-3; italics in the original)

It was the choice, arrangement, and sequencing of items to be learned that Fries made highly specific practical use of the "linguistic scientist's technique of language description" (1945:7). Students who were educated in the tenets of structural linguistics can understand the immense attention to descriptive detail which is intended here. In the Oral Approach, the results of this careful descriptive work are presented in detail in the Lado/Fries series (1953, 1957). A point, seemingly unnoted in the literature, is that for Fries, "the principles of method" also grow out of these materials (Fries, 1945:7). "Method" for Fries is clearly on a lower level of organization than "approach". Fries is very careful to emphasize that the principles of his Oral Approach do not preclude a whole range of practices, including the use of written symbols. (Fries, 1945:8)

Pattern Practice

Turning to the important concept of "pattern practice", Fries states that: "Pattern practice forms the most important activity of learning a foreign language" (Fries in Lado/Fries, 1953, 1957:Preface). Fries claimed (personal communication) that some of those who followed him made the fundamental error of conflating two very separate notions into *their* concept of pattern practice.[7] Fries' argument is a bit involved here; it may help if we remember that in the "rainbow series", there is a green book and a red book. Let us equate one of Fries' notions with the green book (Lado/Fries, 1953, 1957, 1958, and Krohn, 1968) and the other with the red book (Lado/Fries, 1953, 1957, 1958). What we are calling "the green book notion", Fries entitles *"production with conscious choice"*; what we are calling "the red book notion", he entitles *"production as automatic habit"*. (Fries, 1945:9)

The procedure used goes as follows: the structural linguist describes the basic patterns of the target language which the learner of a *particular* native language needs to learn. He orders these basic patterns according to difficulty of learning as determined by contrastive analysis. These patterns of the target language are then practiced in two ways, first through conscious choice (the "green book way") – that is, with the learner's attention on the structural point being taught. Fries then made the simple, but penetrating observation that this type of practice is not enough, that this will *not* lead to freedom in the new language (1945:6). A second type of practice is necessary (Fries, 1945:6, 8, 9, 34, 36). That is, after a particular pattern has been learned through *conscious choice* using *green book* practice, the students need *red book* practice to achieve *automatic use*. Once again Fries is very precise:

> . . .the same patterns must become matters of habit productively and receptively. They must function automatically when the attention is centered wholly upon meaning and not at all upon the mechanics of the language. (Fries, 1945:36)

If one can forget the apparent dogma, one removes much of the controversy and sees the elegance of the system. The green book materials focus on *the learning of form* while the red book materials focus on *the automatic use* of these patterns while the learner's attention is on the meaning. The type of meaning involved with the red book materials is lexical and referential and is portrayed to the learner through pull-out pictures in the back of his textbook (see Chart 2). The predicted result for the learner is that, in Fries' words:

> . . .the pattern, the arrangement, and the appropriate forms of the words in that arrangement, . . .has become automatic and he freely uses it with all sorts of diverse content. (Fries, 1945:34)

Thus to summarize: the green book notion, the notion of *structural patterns*, involves exercises in which the learner's attention is centered upon conscious manipulation of grammatical patterns, whereas, the red book notion, the notion of *pattern practice*, involves exercises in which the learner's attention is centered upon a variety of meanings substituted in the previously learned grammatical pattern. We have tried to discover when and how these two notions were conflated, how in some cases, at any rate, the only notion of "pattern practice" taken over by others after Fries, seems to have been its *opposite*, the one Fries called "structural patterns", i.e., with no reference to meaning. That these two notions were conflated is evident from textbooks and courses which are still with us in which there is no clear distinction made between the *conscious learning* of forms and the *practice* to make the forms matters of automatic habit.

What is important to note is that many thousands of people learned to communicate in English (and other languages) through initial exposure to materials and teaching which grew out of Fries' Oral Approach. Why this is so would take cultural, neurological, and psychological speculation which is beyond the scope of this paper. Part of the answer, however, lies in going "beyond the books" to the realities and experiences of the time and this we discuss in Part Three.

PART THREE: THE ELI: A TOTAL FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT[8]

The facet of the Fries Legacy that comprises this section is a description of the *underpublicized* aspects of the Oral Approach practiced at the English Language Institute that Fries founded. He created "a total functional language environment" which was *basic* to his theory of language learning. The desired end result was the master of the *oral use* of language, hence the Oral Approach. The practices described here were developed as a result of Fries' search for answers to critical questions, the *same* questions still being raised today in language learning and teaching.

(1) How can we best help people learn a language?

(2) What kind of environment will produce the best language learning?

It was clear to Fries that learning a language was not just something that happened in the classroom; the learning process had to go beyond the classroom into the use of language in *real-life communicative situations*. What are described here are practices which are stated explicitly or implied in Fries' classic text, *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language* (1945). In the chapter entitled "Contextual Orientation" (Chapter 5), Fries describes the use of "vivid imaginative realization" in teaching the language through use; he emphasizes the need to relate cultural values to the language in which they are being expressed.

The belief that language learning had to be reinforced and complemented by experiences *beyond the classroom* resulted in the establishment, by Fries, of a very special functional language environment at the English Language Institute. This total program was never revealed in the textbooks so widely distributed throughout the world. It was a program impossible to export with the textbooks – and yet it was a *vital* part of the success achieved at the Institute.

The aspects of the ELI program that are not revealed by the textbooks are those that are discussed in this section. The textbooks could not show, for example, the personalized nature of the program; classes were very small, usually no more than 12 students. Instructors thus knew their students very well and were able to tailor the class work to the special needs and interests of the students. Classroom atmosphere played an important part in the success of the program. The harmony evident in the classroom and in the other activities outside the classroom was an important motivating factor in the learning environment.

What exactly went on *outside* the classroom at the ELI? The program activities described below were an integral part of the ELI program during the years of the 1940's and 1950's. Instructors spent many hours with the students outside the classroom; indeed a number of staff members were housed in the dormitories with the students. In addition, most ELI instructors ate lunch and dinner in the dormitory with the students each day. (Although this might be seen to be a heavy responsibility by today's standards, at the time it was looked upon as an excellent experience for the staff; furthermore, it also constituted a fringe benefit as the meals were provided without cost to the staff!) The dining rooms were set up so that each table seated six to eight persons; each table included at least one instructor. The conversations were, of course, carried on in English. Sometimes they revolved around daily shared experiences but often they ranged far and wide. A significant cross-cultural exchange of information took place during those meal times.

After dinner each day there was a short social period during which the staff interacted with the students informally. This included a variety of activities: conversations, games

(Chinese checkers was popular at that time), help with homework that had been assigned, etc.

The "after dinner hour" was also used to plan the weekly Friday evening program. These programs were specifically instituted to allow for and to encourage the use of English in a social setting. Each of these weekly programs included a formal and informal aspect. The *formal* portion, which usually lasted about an hour, was organized around some central theme. These varied greatly and reflected the individual talents of the students in the Institute at a particular time. Sometimes, the students presented short two- or three-minute talks about a famous person in their country or about a celebrated historical event. The students prepared their presentations and practiced them with help from the instructors during the week. At other times a musical program would be presented, capitalizing on the talents available among the students. These programs, too, would involve language practice such as describing the music or talking about the composer. Sometimes a film on a somewhat controversial topic might be shown, followed by a discussion of the content. Staff members have fond memories of some of the skits prepared by the students for programs near the end of each course. These often depicted the foibles of individual instructors. They were all in good fun and eminently creative – all in English, of course.

The *informal* aspects of the Friday night program, which comprised the remainder of the evening, included singing (songs in English and other languages) and dancing. The dancing was also the combination of American and non-American ballroom and folk dancing. Sometimes before the dancing commenced, there would be group games.[9] These games were deliberately chosen to exploit the language used in playing them.

Typical American celebrations of holidays was another important activity. The Fourth of July picnic during the

Summer Intensive Program each year is a good example. This celebration included a baseball game (with Fries as pitcher) and the usual hot dogs cooked over a charcoal fire. This all-day affair, like the other social activities, built a rapport between instructors and students that made for a very effective learning environment.

"Only English" was the watchword during the Friday evening programs, the holiday celebrations, and the meals and social hour after meals. Certainly the communicative use of English came alive to students at these times.

At the end of each eight-week session there was a banquet to honor those who had completed the course. In the early years of the Institute Fries always acted as host on these occasions. One or two of the students would be asked to talk and here again there was the opportunity to experience the use of English in a social setting of a more formal type.

Fries set the scene for the learning environment in his introductory talk at the beginning of each eight-week session. In the early days these talks were translated into Spanish for the convenience of beginning students, most of whom were from Latin America. One of the major points he made, in addition to his admonition to "practice constantly" (opportunities for which as we have seen were built into the program), was that there is no such thing as word-for-word translation. He stressed the importance of the relation of language to the culture of its users and to the situation in which it is used. Learning the language meant understanding the context in which the language was being used. *Those who say that Fries was not interested in meaning clearly have not understood his work in English as a foreign language.*

Fries' *Oral Approach* was descriptive of the *goal* to be reached: *the oral use of language*. Fries was adamant that it not be referred to as a method. His approach allowed for alternatives in how one 'approached' the material in the classroom. Instructors were able to use their own individual styles as they wished to guide students to use the language. This approach allowed for teacher flexibility in the classroom. As discussed above, instructors were well acquainted with their students, and experiences shared in activities such as those described above often became useful language examples in the classroom. Many specific grammatical or phonological examples used in the classroom were drawn from such shared experiences.

This combination of *classroom work* and opportunity for practice in the use of the language with native speakers *outside the classroom* in social situations was essential to the highly successful program at the English Language Institute. Many of Fries' students have, at least in some measure, been able to export this kind of functional learning environment to their own institutions. To the extent that one is able to provide such an environment, one can enhance the language learning experience for students.

Over the years many colleagues who were not privileged to participate in what has been called the "Michigan experience" have been envious of that experience. Former ELI staff members count ourselves fortunate indeed to have played a part in the Fries Legacy.

PART FOUR: THE FRIES LEGACY AND ESL THEORY

Overview

An important feature of Fries' work was his concern with explicit answers to precise questions about learning and teaching a second language, answers covering a broad range of pedagogical issues – from theory – to curriculum – to classroom – and beyond the classroom. It is with regard to this concern that we feel Fries' work has particular relevance to many current issues in the fields of ESL and applied linguistics. In this section we look at Fries' work as it relates to what we are calling the study of ESL Theory – study of the *principles* according to which pedagogical decisions are made and the *processes* involved in the creation of these principles. It is through the study of ESL Theory that we are attempting to make explicit the factors involved in pedagogical decision-making.

By pedagogical decisions, we are referring to the range of decisions which determine *the choice of language data* that learners are exposed to in the learning/teaching, and the *choice of activities* through which they interact with this language data. Input toward such decisions can potentially come from many sources: theorists and researchers – program organizers and directors – curriculum developers and textbook writers – teacher trainers and supervisors – teachers and tutors – and ultimately, learners. In discussing the principles and processes of pedagogical decision-making then, it is indeed necessary to include explicitly three things:

(1) theoretical perspectives,
(2) perspectives of those engaged to organize and carry out the teaching,
(3) perspectives of those involved in the learning, that is, the students.

Investigating Learning/Teaching Perspectives

An examination of the literature in ESL and applied linguistics over the past 40 years reveals a history of debate among language learning/teaching *theorists* about "the best way" to learn and teach a language. Yet we find that the details of these controversies are unfamiliar to many engaged in the second language learning/teaching process. This lack of familiarity is a serious concern since what happens in the learning/teaching is often significantly affected by the outcome of such controversies as reflected in the materials used, and instructions and advice provided for teachers and learners.

However, controversies about the best ways to learn and to teach a second language are not limited to theorists. Among *teachers* there is also a continual debate about what kind of teaching works best in the classroom and about what kind of teaching strategies produce classes which are conducive to learning. We find that the details of these debates among teachers are largely unfamiliar to many theorists; for the most part, teachers' techniques have been considered idiosyncratic by theorists and outside the scope of the theoretical debates at issue. This is also a concern as what happens in the learning/teaching is significantly affected by different teacher perspectives – even when the same materials and method are used.

We further discover, when we truly involve *learners*, that they often have specific ideas about what learning a second language involves, and about the best ways for them to accomplish this learning. We find that learners' perceptions of what occurs or should occur in a second language classroom or program may not correspond to the plan envisioned by the theorist or by the teacher. The learner, nonetheless, plays a crucial role in how the target language data is perceived and treated and how language learning activities are responded to. The following example is an illustration of this.

In theoretical terms, an *inductive* approach is one in which the learners draw a generalization from a number of examples which are provided. In contrast to this, a *deductive* approach provides a generalization which is illustrated or tested through the examples. Neglected in this distinction, however, is the learner's perspective. Learners who have already been given an explanation (or developed a personal one) may treat the examples which initiate an inductive approach as illustrations of their explanation or tests of their hypothesis. On the other hand, learners may prefer not to develop an interpretation when the rule is initially stated (or they might not be listening at all), so that the ensuing examples are not illustrations of the rule, but rather the "raw data" which they treat "inductively". Under practical conditions then, it may be the case that this conceptual distinction disappears. Thus, an approach, in practice cannot validly be considered independent of the learner's perspective – the learner's perceptions of the learning/teaching, and the learner's response to the way in which language data is provided and learning activities are carried out.

We find that in the perspectives noted above – those of the theorist, the teacher, and the learner – a strong conviction exists that how the teaching and learning is carried out affects whether the outcome is successful or unsuccessful. However, there are many questions underlying these convictions. First of all, what does each of the groups judge as constituting "success"? To what extent do conceptual distinctions proposed by the theorists play a role in *their* view of success? To what extent do factors discussed by teachers play a role in *their* view of success? Frequently attempts have been made in the literature to attribute a "success" or "failure" of teaching to a particular theoretical perspective, or "approach"[10]. In our view, an essential prerequisite to clear statements about the success of lessons, programs, or methods is a deeper understanding of the interrelationships among the perspectives of the theorist, the teacher and the learner.

The Study of ESL Theory

It has become a prime objective of our view of ESL Theory to provide a *framework* for systematic investigation of the processes of interaction among those involved in second language learning/teaching processes, out of which pedagogical decisions are made, and out of which pedagogical principles evolve.

In order to meet the above objective, it is necessary, in our view, to bring into the *same arena of analysis* the range of diverse decisions which determine what learners face in the learning/teaching process as potential data for the study of ESL Theory. This includes three elements:

(1) the range of decisions leading up to the choice of language content and/or language data which learners are exposed to,
(2) the range of decisions determining the activities and interactions learners will carry out with language samples and,
(3) the range of decisions reflecting attitudes, beliefs and expectations about language learning and teaching which learners face, and which they themselves bring to the task.

Such an analysis might investigate, for example, decisions related to some of the following areas:

(1) organizing a program around a particular theoretical or philosophical approach;
(2) developing materials for learning/teaching;
(3) sequencing language content or learning activities;
(4) determining criteria for grouping learners into levels and/or classes;
(5) grouping learners within a class period for a particular activity;
(6) carrying out particular learning activities inside (or outside) the classroom;
(7) engaging in a particular exchange during such a learning activity.

A primary underlying concept of this paper, and of the study of ESL Theory as we have defined it, is this: the actual carrying out, in daily practice, of activities for learning *is the culmination of an extremely broad range of decisions*, some carefully thought out, some spontaneous, but all relatable in important ways to previous experiences. An awareness of the patterning of this range of decisions and the factors underlying them would give us insights into why we consider some approaches, programs, methods, courses, lessons and techniques successful, and others unsuccessful. It may also help us to better understand the ways in which some courses seem coherent and harmonious – courses in which the students, teachers, and materials seem to be in enthusiastic agreement about where they are going and how they are getting there – while other courses seem to be pitted with conflicts and disharmonies.

The use of such terms as harmony, coherence and unity for referring to language learning/teaching situations is not new. These terms have been used often in the literature over the years, by Fries (1945), Anthony (1963), Stevick (1980), among others. The notions represented by such terms are difficult to define, and perhaps impossible to control for and measure empirically. Yet, there is good reason to suspect that when learners, teachers, and materials are united about the learning objectives and about the means to achieve these objectives – with respect to the interpersonal, methodological, and theoretical or philosophical aspects of their shared effort – this harmony or coherence or unity plays an important part in the success of a program. In the case under consideration in this paper, we find among our colleagues divergences in opinion about the reasons for which the approach developed by Fries and used during that period was considered so successful. There is also divergence of opinion as to the factors involved in that success. However, amid the theoretical controversies regarding whether or not pattern practice *should* work (see, for example: Saporta, 1966; Brown, 1971; Diller, 1971; Lamendella, 1978), is the realization that students taught in the Fries tradition *did* get target language data, and *were* inspired to do something with it. Perhaps for these students, and their teachers, there was never any doubt that it would work.

The fact that harmony is largely unquantifiable and difficult to define does not mean that it is impossible for us to investigate the factors which seem to foster it or to hinder it. Nor does it mean that it is impossible for learners, teachers, and theorists to become more aware of such factors. It may be that the very process of investigating the notion of harmony, along with an attempt to make explicit our understanding of theoretical notions (such as pattern practice, for example) will increase our awareness of potential conflicts in the learning/teaching process and their sources. It is in attempting to develop this awareness that we feel that the study of ESL Theory is related to concerns of harmony and success in ESL learning/teaching.

Fries and ESL Theory

Let us consider then, the ways in which an examination of Fries' work is relevant to the study of ESL Theory today, and to the notion of harmony in ESL learning/teaching. It is not only that some of the principles of the Oral Approach – and the processes involved in their creation – may be relevant to current pedagogical decision-making that is of interest to us here. It is also that Fries' work provides us with an excellent model for explicitly taking into account a full range of pedagogical considerations in the learning/teaching process, including those of a theoretical nature and those of an implementational nature. In our view, it is important for all of us as ESL professionals to have background knowledge for, and experience in, examining pedagogical decisions at a variety of levels, and ultimately in making decisions. It is important for us to develop an awareness of and appreciation for the complex network of factors which connect the carrying out of learning/teaching to the various theories and beliefs held about learning and teaching second language. For this reason, we wish to attempt to avoid the traditional tendency to separate theoretical background, on the one hand, and methodology, on the other. Such a split suggests that the validity or lack of validity of a particular classroom activity or technique is unrelated to theories or philosophies of language, learning, and teaching.

In this light, we wish to consider two aspects of Fries' work: (1) his completeness, and (2) his explicitness. Fries' work in ESL can be characterized by the term *completeness* in that it offers a careful tying together of diverse threads – theoretical factors, material-related factors, teacher-related factors, learner-related factors – into what clearly seems to have been a coherent and harmonious whole. Departing from the "special techniques of descriptive analysis of the modern scientific study of language by which a trained linguist can efficiently and accurately arrive at the fundamentally significant matters of structure and sound system", Fries moved to the "application of these techniques to the development of satisfactory materials for learning and teaching" (1945:5).

The role of the learner in the process was clearly laid out. "Even with such materials the desired result does not follow inevitably without the thorough cooperation of the student. The student must be willing to give himself wholeheartedly to the strenuous business of learning the new language". (1945:5) Fries elaborated in some detail what this wholehearted cooperation entails – the type of attitude necessary, the type of practice required, the kind of difficulties which must be overcome – for the scientifically selected and sequenced items of language to be learned.

Although in retrospect, Fries can be criticized for his excessively strict application of theoretical linguistic principles to questions of pedagogical nature, he was nonetheless *explicit* in this application. As noted in Part Two above, he began his *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language* by *explicitly* framing the often implicit questions which must necessarily be part of any attempt to learn or teach another language: "What do we mean by 'learn' or 'master' a language?" and "By what process can we best arrive at this 'mastery'?" He then provided answers to these questions by explicit reference to principles of structural linguistics and to anecdotal information. It is Fries' explicitness which helps us to understand how he came to the conclusions he did, and what the factors were that he considered most important. It is also his explicitness which allows us to be explicit in our criticism of his conclusions.

Fries stated that the mastery of the basic sound and structural arrangement was only the *first* stage (1945:3). He then clearly linked this first stage to what he considered the ultimate task of "attaining as complete a realization as possible of the common situations in which the language operates for the native speaker" (1945:58). The subsequent stages of language learning – after mastery of the sound system and the basic structural devices – involve presentation of vocabulary for "general areas of experience", and then for "special areas of experience" related to "the special fields in which he (the learner) will be active." (1945:51). Ultimately, Fries stated the learner must "try to enter into the whole range of experiences that the native speakers of the foreign language have grown up with". "Only in so far as such contextual orientation is achieved is the foreign language really 'mastered' " (1945: 61). Fries has a deep concern for culture, not simply as a handy way of providing a teaching context for linguistic items, but as a prerequisite to gaining the ability to put language to communicative use. Thus, the importance of the aspects discussed in Part Three of this paper is again underscored.

A careful reading of Fries reveals that theoretical aspects did not exist independently, but rather had to be operating hand in hand with methodological aspects and with interpersonal or humanistic aspects. At one point, Fries quoted a philosophical statement of DeWitt Parker: "Scientific truth is the fidelity of a description to the external objects of experience; artistic truth is a sympathetic vision – the organization into clearness of experience itself", and then added: "the goal of language as a communicative art is akin to that of all artistic effort. . .vivid imaginative realization" (Fries, 1945:57). From that statement, it is difficult to interpret Fries' view of language learning and language teaching as being "mechanistic", an unfair charge too often applied to his work.

A careful study of Fries' work both in terms of its content and its argumentation, is vital to ESL professionals today as a background for understanding contemporary issues in our field. To fail to take the Fries Legacy into serious account in one's own formulation of theories and practices is to fail to recognize an important milestone in the development of our field. Fries was a key visionary in the development of theoretical perspectives to second language learning and teaching.

Footnotes

[1] *Proceedings of the University of Michigan Board of Regents*, March 26 and October 15, 1941.

[2] The abbreviation ESL will be used throughout the paper to denote both English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

[3] We do not wish to enter into a debate of whether or not Fries was a "behaviorist". We feel that assigning such labels is counterproductive to our attempt to understand Fries in his own terms. Such categorical labels may give the reader a false impression of grasping Fries' position by equating it with what one knows of behaviorism, and may keep the reader from going to the original sources. It is clear, from a close reading of Fries, that he did not hold what we characterize today as the extreme "strawman behaviorist position". It is equally clear though, that he did accept the dominant psychology of the day, one greatly influenced by a broader behaviorist perspective. We should like to acknowledge our appreciation to Peter Fries for the extensive information he provided us concerning Fries' statements regarding psychology.

[4] Sources for this section of the paper are portions of Fries' classic text, *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language*, and personal communications from Fries to Selinker in which Fries expressed deep concern about having been seriously misunderstood in his writings on the theoretical foundations of the Oral Approach. *Our* concern for

his concern is part of the motivation for this paper.

[5] The history of this development (see Lado, 1957) is, of course, more complex, especially in that the influence of structuralist bilingual studies (e.g. Haugen, 1951, and Weinreich, 1953) was strongly felt.

[6] Once again this may appear to be an overstatement of the facts in that another immediate precursor to the study of second-language acquisition was the development of the study of first-language acquisition. Discussion of this aspect would pull us too far afield.

[7] We can see this problem even in more recent discussions. For example, in Lamendella (1978) and Klosek versus Lamendella (1978), this distinction is not noted.

[8] This section was written by Betty Wallace Robinett who worked as an assistant to Fries for several years.

[9] Dorry's book, *Games for Second Language Learning* (1966), reflects her experience at the ELI where she often directed the games during these programs.

[10] In using the terms 'approach', 'method' and 'technique', we are refering to Anthony's distinctions (1963:64). We have used these distinctions as a basis for developing a framework for analysis of the learning/teaching process. (forthcoming)

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UNDERSTANDING REFUGEE SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING*

Howard H. Kleinmann

Abstract

This paper discusses the trauma associated with involuntary or forced migration, and the resulting effect on the learner's ability to concentrate on second language learning. Drawing on the Indochinese refugee experience, the author discusses how and why social service and linguistic needs of refugees must be addressed simultaneously if the ESL program is to be successful. The paper also suggests ways in which the refugee's second language acquisition potential can be fed both within and outside the classroom to facilitate resettlement.

We are all aware of the massive body of literature that has accumulated over the last 30 years in the field of second language learning and teaching. In this period we have become increasingly sensitive to the complexities of the second language learning and teaching processes as our sophistication with such disciplines as linguistics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, education, and other fields has developed. We have been able to integrate insights from all of these disciplines to contribute to our knowledge, learning in the process, if nothing else, that the number of variables affecting the learning and teaching of a second language is almost endless.

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* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the seventeenth annual TESOL convention, March 16, 1983.

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Yet, if one looks through the tables of contents of the professional journals in our field, one cannot help noticing the overwhelming emphasis on studies of educated, university-enrolled ESL students. To be sure, we have learned a great deal about second language learning and teaching from these university-based studies. What is striking, however, is the relative lack of research attention paid to another very sizable group of ESL learners and the incomplete picture of the second language learning and teaching process that we may be left with as a result. I am speaking of the Indochinese refugees, three-quarters of a million of whom have come to the United States since 1975.

What is especially noteworthy about the Indochinese refugees is the circumstances under which they have relocated. The Indochinese refugees were, in effect, pushed out of their native countries, forced to migrate to strange lands, frequently leaving loved ones behind. The trauma and psychological stress experienced by these involuntary migrants have been overwhelming. Any migration, even a voluntary one, is a traumatic experience. It represents an interruption and frustration of natural life expectations. It is one of the most obvious instances of the complete disorganization of the individual's role system and the partial disturbance of social identity. It is cognitively stressful, forcing the immigrant to change familiar images and build a new cognitive map. For the involuntary migrant, the psychological risks can be even greater.

The intensity of stress as a result of involuntary migration has been pointed out in Cohon (1981), who reviewed refugee symptomatology and treatment methods. Among the symptoms he noted were delusions of persecution, disturbing dreams, poor sleep, states of confusion, somatic complaints, feelings of insecurity, isolation, resentment, guilt, inadequacy, bereavement, tension, fatigue, restlessness, and detachment. Cohon and others (Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare 1979) pointed out that these problems may be chronic or delayed. Frequently they remain dormant until after an initial period of resettlement has passed and the refugee is able to reflect upon his life situation (Robinson 1980:33).

To understand the implications of the refugee experience for second language learning and teaching, it is useful to look at the theoretical work on social-psychological stress done by Dohrenwend (1961). Dohrenwend proposed a model of stress based on a case of forced relation. In the model, stress brought on by forced relocation is affected by external and internal factors. External factors include objective conditions of one's life situation based in part by comparing old and new life conditions. Internal factors include subjective aspiration which have been internalized and which affect the choice of life goals. The greater the relative deprivation experienced as the person makes comparisons between past and present life conditions, the greater is the effect of external factors on stress. The greater the threat to one's internalized status aspirations, the greater is the effect of internal factors on stress. In applying Dohrenwend's model to the Indochinese refugee population, externally induced stress would be a result of a negative comparison between life circumstances in the native country and the country of refuge. Internally induced stress would be a result of status aspirations for achievement in American society that conflict with existing life circumstances. It follows that refugees who have a positive evaluation of life circumstances, and aspirations which fit well with them, should experience less overall stress in functioning. Refugees who have a negative evaluation of life circumstances and unrealistic aspirations relative to their life circumstances should experience greater stress in life functioning.

It is obvious that one cannot talk about ESL education for refugees without considering the circumstances that have brought them to the classroom, and the life situation in which they find themselves. Linguists have long recognized that sociocultural adjustment (the resolution of internal and external constraint) and host language acquisition are interrelated processes, but customarily the ESL educator did not encounter students with such severe social-psychological problems as the Indochinese refugees. This extreme situation has highlighted the need for integrating with the ESL program an effective, ongoing, social and support service system which can reduce levels of constraint and psychological stress.

One model of such a system in the early stages of resettlement is the sponsorship arrangement, which may fairly be compared with the "halfway house" facilities used to ease people with physical, social and psychological problems back into mainstream society after a period of institutionalization. Like a halfway house, a sponsorship provides a temporary sheltered environment which allows the refugee to move gradually, and in a planned way, out into the host society. If properly oriented, the sponsor is organized, sensitized and in many other ways prepared to receive, welcome and assist the refugee in putting his or her life back together again in the totally new and foreign environment. The sponsor is able to neutralize somewhat the effects of what has been labeled "nesting obsession" – concern over feeling comfortable where one is living after having relocated, and "transition anxiety" – the anxiety brought about by concern over details of moving to a foreign culture (Schumann 1980; Schumann and Schumann 1977). Of course, to be fully effective the sponsorship arrangement should be tied into a network of professional social and psychological services.

While the conjoining of TESL expertise with an effective support services system is a necessary component of effective resettlement, ESL educators must exercise caution in applying TESL research findings to refugee programs. Much second language learning theory and teaching practice develop from studies of carefully controlled environments where a fairly uniform level of basic aptitude and interest, plus a regulated schedule and semicommon student goals exist. Resettlement of Indochinese refugees has taught us that few of the customary assumptions hold, especially in the case of undereducated refugees. This has been a source of frustration, and has spawned a growing uneasiness among refugee ESL educators who question the applicability of ESL research findings, teaching methods and techniques (Cain 1979). Barriers to successful second language learning such as overcrowded classrooms, multi-level classes, and varying educational backgrounds (Heaton 1979; Peck 1979), while definitely factors in refugee ESL programs, nevertheless do not account entirely for the inordinate difficulty many refugees experience in ESL classes. Observations about the undereducated Indochinese ESL learners seem to suggest that the adult refugee presents an exception to accepted theory and technique. As one ESL educator lamented, "There is very little in the way of texts, examinations, research and publication in the field of linguistics, applied linguistics and TESL that is relevant to the situation of the Indochinese refugee" (Cain 1979).

Fortunately, the situation has improved since those words were published in 1979. We must be ever mindful, however, that the ESL education of undereducated Indochinese refugee adults necessitates dealing with special difficulties not encountered in working with other adult second language learners. To understand their problems learning English, it is useful to examine a model of second language acquisition known as the Monitor (Krashen 1976).

The Monitor Model and Indochinese Refugees

The Monitor Model is a theory of adult second language development. An important feature of the theory is the distinction it makes between acquisition and learning. Acquisition refers to the process of developing language competence in predictable stages without formal instruction but through active involvement with the target language. It is the process entailed by first language development in children and second language development in adults when they are involved in meaningful, communicative interaction in the target language.

Mere exposure to English is insufficient for acquisition to take place. Active involvement with the target language is necessary for acquisition to occur (Krashen 1976:166). Typically, actively involved learners are individuals who maximize practice opportunities in the target language by stimulating language output from their interlocutors during verbal interactions with them (Seliger 1977). This results in their receiving large doses of focused target language input, enabling them to formulate and test hypotheses about the target language, which contributes to their acquired second language competence.

The lack of active involvement that Indochinese refugees, especially the undereducated, have with English is well known among resettlement professionals and may explain why some refugees are poor acquirers of English. These refugees may be characterized as "low input generators," retreating from second language interactions and reluctant to exploit practice opportunities (Seliger, 1977:265, 275).

Learning, in Monitor Model terms, refers to the process of consciously attending to linguistic form. It usually takes place in formal environments where rule isolation, error detection and error correction take place. Language output is "monitored" by the learner who uses conscious linguistic knowledge to edit what he or she has learned. By monitoring, the learner supplements knowledge of second language material that has already been acquired. The learner does this by using language knowledge that has consciously been learned by rule to adjust, prior to production, the proper form of the utterance. The notion of learning in Monitor Theory is related to the individual's ability to isolate rules and focus on errors and their correction, usually in formal environments such as ESL classrooms. Implicit in this concept is the learner's ability to analyze linguistic form based on a formal grammar he or she has stored and can consciously refer to for language production and repair. It is not unusual, therefore, that adults enrolled in intensive ESL programs at universities would outperform nonacademically oriented foreign adults, and especially those with little or no formal education. Second language learners with limited formal education in their first language simply do not have the experience or skills necessary to formalize language data into rules to which they can refer. In this connection there is little difference between undereducated Indochinese refugees and other undereducated foreign adults. Both groups are unable to develop a sophisticated enough Monitor in formal second language learning environments. In contrast, experience with Soviet refugees attending non-university ESL programs has been that they are excellent learners in the Monitor Model sense. One important reason for this is that most of them are better equipped to deal with formal ESL instruction, having completed a high school education in the Soviet Union.

To summarize, the difficulty undereducated refugees have in developing competence in English can be attributed in part to the following:

1. They are unable to take advantage of traditional formal ESL learning environments where language rules are presented and explained.
2. They do not involve themselves actively in the target language through second language interaction with other

students in the same classroom.

3. They avoid second language contact with native speakers outside the ESL classroom.

In Monitor Model terms, we may say they are poor learners and poor acquirers of a second language. What this suggests, of course, is that we must re-examine what we are doing inside the classroom to help Indochinese refugees develop English language proficiency, and we must think of ways to increase their likelihood to approach second language contact opportunities outside the classroom.

Key features of an ESL classroom which would increase the likelihood of active involvement on the part of Indochinese refugees include the following:

1. Topic selection relevant to the refugees' lives and in language which would be immediately usable. Topics and language related to everyday coping skills, prevocational skills, and employment needs of the student would rank high in this category.
2. De-emphasis on formal rules.
3. Small group interaction activities to make the learners feel more comfortable using English.
4. The teaching of "attending skills" (Cope and Acton 1976 for use by students during group interaction activities. These are appropriate listening behaviors which will generate further language output from the speaker and greater input into the listener's mental language acquisimechanism.

In short, the classroom needs to de-emphasize learning and emphasize acquisition in the Monitor Model sense of the terms.

Outside the Classroom

Because second language acquisition and sociocultural adjustment are interdependent, the emphasis upon acquisition activities within the classroom is inadequate by itself. The classroom situation is inherently artificial and for someone without a formal education it can be quite tedious and unproductive.

The refugee must be afforded the opportunity for genuine crosscultural encounter outside the classroom. This, however, entails knotty problems. The newly arrived, undereducated, non-English speaking refugee is not equipped to find housing, employment or social interaction opportunities for himself or herself (Dean 1977; Montero 1979). Without guidance, encouragement and outside help, the refugee is likely to fall into a pattern of avoidance of and isolation from the target culture, and remain there. This points again to the need for an effective support service system. With such a network, refugees can be sensitized to American culture, institutions, and systems, and be exposed to meaningful out-of-class intake environments which complement in-class language acquisition activities. Such exposure would enhance the refugee's second language acquisition potential as well as overall adjustment.

In closing let me reiterate that the special circumstances of the involuntary migration of Indochinese refugees require us to consider external factors in second language acquisition in designing and operating ESL programs. Support services must be available to alleviate various stresses and facilitate sociocultural adjustment. In addition, the refugee's acquisition potential must be fed within and outside the classroom, and the ESL curriculum should address the needs of refugees in survival, prevocational, and occupational areas. These are just some recommendations. We need more reports and formal studies of refugees and their adjustment experiences. Through them we will have a more complete picture of what determines successful (and unsuccessful) second language acquisition, sociocultural adjustment, and overall resettlement.

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FORUM

Richard Mezo has written a response to Kathryn Taylor Mizuno's article, "Micro-analysis: A technique for helping Japanese students of English" (Vol. 5, Oct., 1983). Mr Mezo's response is followed by a reply from Ms Mizuno.

JARGON, WEASEL WORDS, AND BARRIERS TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

In a recent article in the *JALT Journal* (October 1983) concerning "macro-analysis techniques" in teaching oral English, Kathryn Taylor Mizuno speaks of what she calls "the new field of intercultural communication." From the author's comment about the field, I would indeed hesitate to call it new – the coinage of some new terms or the introduction of new jargon does not make a new field. I think that teachers of English to speakers of other languages have been concerned, for quite some time, with the cultural barriers to learning. However, I do not want to argue the point here; I am interested, rather, in jargon itself and in "weasel words" that may be used to cover up problems which need to be faced and solved. It seems that, with increasing frequency, ESL/EFL teachers are becoming fond of jargon and weasel words used to sidestep or avoid some of the unpleasant aspects of life. It is as though some teachers want to avoid the responsibility for noticing and speaking about such things as racial prejudice. Ms. Mizuno's article provides a good example of this problem in the use of jargon and weasel words.

In her article, for example, Ms. Mizuno quotes at length from the work of a "cultural anthropologist" concerning the cultural barrier in communication. It is worth considering the statement in full:

> Nakane Chie. . .points out one source of difficulty for Japanese in communicating with non-Japanese. She notes that a basic rule for social interaction for the Japanese is

> that there are three basic groups of people; those within one's own group, those whose background is fairly well known and those whose background is unknown. Non-Japanese people fall in the third category. Nakane concludes: "If the Japanese had some general code of manners for dealing with people which did not differentiate [these three categories of people] they might have an easier time approaching or interacting with foreigners."

The statement above is couched in social science jargon – and it is cant of a dangerous and malicious sort. What is Nakane Chie actually saying here? The reality hidden behind this jargon may be stated thus: "The Japanese have trouble communicating with others because they have extreme racial prejudices. If they did not have racial prejudices, it would be easier for them to communicate with foreigners." Then why not come right out and say it? Well, because racism is not a pleasant subject and it may be avoided to some extent by the use of jargon. And how easy it is for a writer to evade his or her responsibility to be honest:

> There is one source of difficulty for American southern "rednecks" in communicating with non-white people. A basic rule for social interaction for the American southern rednecks is that there are three basic groups of people: those within one's own group, those whose background is fairly well known and those whose background is unknown. Non-white people (especially blacks) fall into the third category. We should conclude that if the American southern redneck had some general code of manners for dealing with people which did not differentiate these three categories of people, they might have an easier time approaching or interacting with blacks and other non-white people.

And thus we would explain away, in a fog of jargon, the KKK and neo-Nazi groups and other bigots who preach racial superiority and continue to thrive upon racial hatred – and thus we contribute our small part to racial prejudice and discrimination. We could not use terms such as "racial prejudice" for these terms have moral connotations and we are, after all, "social scientists."

Closely related to the use of jargon is the use of weasel words, and again Ms. Mizuno's article provides a good example of this second problem. Dean Barnlund, who is described as "a leader in the field of intercultural communication", makes the following statement about the "culture gap" between Japan and the United States:

> If one were forced to choose a few words to capture the ethos of these societies they might be these: homogeneity, hierarchy, collectivity and harmony for Japan; heterogeneity, equality, individualism and change for the United States.

But let us consider Mr. Barnlund's comparisons a little more carefully:

Japan		*U.S.*
homogeneity	–	heterogeneity
hierarchy	–	equality
collectivity	–	individualism
harmony	–	change

When these words are taken from the context of the sentence and are displayed in paired groupings, it is easier to notice what is wrong here. The writer has not tried to match these words – he has substituted weasel words for more natural, more logical words in his contrast:

Japan		*U.S.*
homogeneity	–	heterogeneity
authoritarianism	–	equality
conformity	–	individualism
stasis	–	change

I am not suggesting that these are truly the distinguishing characteristics of societies in Japan or in the United States; I am suggesting that they are more logical pairings than those of Mr. Barnlund. And I am saying that the former pairings represent a dishonest attempt to avoid problems rather than an attempt to recognize and deal with them.

I do agree, however, with the thrust of Ms. Mizuno's article to the effect that discussion and debate are essential features of democratic societies and that these are not well known in non-democratic societies. But effective discussion and debate depend upon clarity and honesty; jargon which attempts to cover up problems and weasel words only serve to impede the process of communication. Teachers of English must begin to recognize the problem of using jargon and weasel words before intercultural communication can be successful.

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A RESPONSE TO RICHARD E. MEZO

I welcome this opportunity to respond to the comments made by Richard E. Mezo about my article in the October, 1983 *JALT Journal.*

I agree with Mr. Mezo that clarity and honesty are essential for a meaningful discussion, and that the use of jargon and imprecise language prevents this. I would like to point out here, though, that I believe that in neither of the two instances he cites are the authors quoted guilty of dishonest use of language in order to, in Mr. Mezo's words, "sidestep or avoid some of the unpleasant aspects of life." I would like to suggest in addition that Mr. Mezo's use of language seems to me to reflect some of his own biases and misconceptions of what is being said by the two authors he quotes and by myself in my article.

First, he condemns Nakane Chie for her "dangerous and malicious" use of "social science jargon" to describe what he calls "racial prejudice". While the patterns of interpersonal communication in Japanese society described by Ms. Nakane

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in the passage cited (Nakane, 1974), p. 131) may provide an explanation for racial prejudice as it may exist in Japan. Ms. Nakane's analysis is based on a study of the way Japanese interact *with other Japanese*. The "third category" of people includes other Japanese as well as non-Japanese, so that race is not the central issue. Mr. Mezo's use of the term "racial prejudice" here is thus inappropriate.

In citing Ms. Nakane I was trying to illustrate how differences in basic cultural values can be a barrier to communication among people of differing cultural backgrounds. Observers of Japanese society – professional and non-professional, Japanese and non-Japanese alike – agree that the strong orientation to group is a dominant influence in interpersonal relations in the culture. People of the dominant culture in Japan tend to see others as either being members of one's group or not – as either insiders or outsiders. I intended to show in my article that there may be serious miscommunication in an encounter between a typical Japanese and a typical American, where the Japanese views the American as an outsider while the American views the Japanese as another individual with whom he can communicate on an equal basis. If a discussion of the sort that is common in the English speaking world is based on thesis and antithesis, the premises of which are "parity and confrontation on an equal footing" (Nakane, 1970, p. 35), and the Japanese does not view the non-Japanese as an equal, there may be miscommunication unless both parties in the discussion are aware that there are those basic differences in their world views.

I concur with Mr. Mezo in deploring the 'preaching of racial superiority and thriving on racial hatred' that are the result of severely ethnocentric attitudes. I also have a concern, however, for a much more subtle form of ethnocentrism which Mr. Mezo's article itself seems to me to reflect: the assumption that one's own values are superior to those of others. This seems to be an unconscious attitude at the base of Mr.

Mezo's criticism of what he calls the "weasel words" that Mr. Barnlund uses to describe Japanese society (Barnlund, 1975, p. 161).

Mr. Mezo shows a clear cultural bias in his choice of "more logical" words to substitute for those used by Mr. Barnlund. He has changed Barnlund's neutral terms to words implying a negative value judgement on his part. To be consistent would it not be "more logical" to pair terms that both imply negative value judgements, such as the following?

Japan		*U.S.*
homogeneity	–	heterogeneity
authoritarianism	–	anarchy
conformity	–	egotism
stasis	–	restlessness

To counterbalance his list of terms for Japanese society as it might be seen by a critical non-Japanese, this is a similar list of terms for the U.S. that might be used by a critic of that society. Or one could choose terms with more positive connotations for both societies:

Japan		*U.S.*
homogeneity	–	heterogeneity
social order	–	egalitarianism
loyalty to group	–	self-reliance
traditionalism	–	progress

Barnlund has attempted to describe each society in as objective terms as possible, but he recognises the "difficulty of making any comparative statement without implying, or having attributed to it, some sort of cosmic judgement. No matter how careful the research it must embody the assumptions of some culture; no matter how objective the conclusions, they must be stated and read from some cultural perspective. Although the effects of cultural biases can be resisted, they can never be totally eliminated" (Barnlund, 1975, p. ix). Thus, read from Mr. Mezo's apparent cultural bias, Barnlund's terms for U.S. society seem positive, and those for Japanese society seem to be dishonest, deceptive "weasel words".

What we must strive for in order to communicate more effectively with people whose values differ from our own is not to be value-free, but to be aware of the cultural relativity of our own values, so that we can seek to understand how they may differ from those of others. Barnlund states in his conclusion, "The boundaries of our countries are no longer the borders of our minds. It is vitally important – perhaps even a matter of survival – that we come to comprehend and appreciate what other peoples feel and know. This kind of interpersonal empathy can enlarge human pespectives and multiply opportunities for personal and cultural growth" (Barnlund, 1975, p. 173).

As long as we teachers of English as a second language ignore this we will be imposing our cultural values on our students, rather than discovering through meaningful communication with them how our ideas and attitudes may differ, thus developing better understanding between us.

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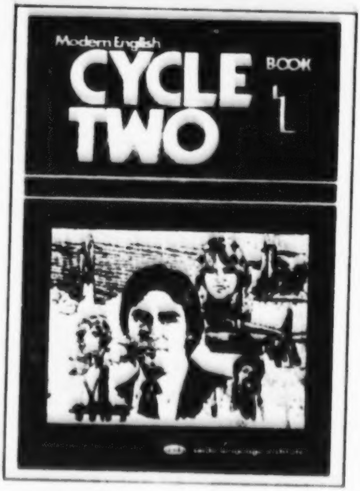

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